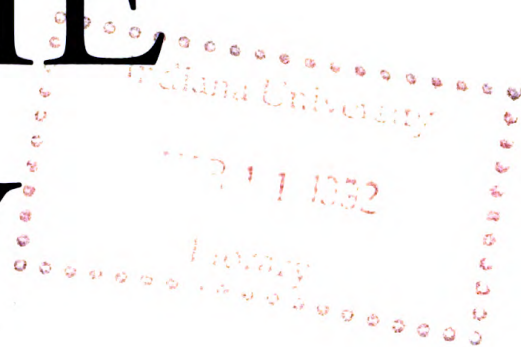


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JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY

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Nazi Policies Toward Roma and Sinti, 1933-1945

Sybil Milton

This essay shows the development of Nazi measures affecting the daily lives of Roma and Sinti in Germany and Austria from 1933 to 1945. It includes reference to the decision to kill Gypsies and comparative information about the treatment of Jews and Gypsies under Nazi administration.

Gypsies, that is, Roma and Sinti, have been largely invisible in current historiography about Nazi genocide. Instead, suspicion, prejudice, and stereotypes have continued to dominate historical literature about this subject.¹ Thus, Yehuda Bauer's suggestion that "the Nazis simply did not have a policy regarding the Gypsies" and that therefore Nazi persecution of Gypsies was fundamentally different from that of Jews is simply wrong. Similarly, Hans-Joachim Döring's contention that Nazi policy was motivated by a combination of crime control and military security considerations or Bernhard Streck's classification of the killing of Roma and Sinti in Auschwitz-Birkenau for epidemiological and public health reasons is equally fallacious.² To be sure, the "Jewish Question" loomed larger than the "Gypsy Plague" in Nazi ideology, since Roma and Sinti were socially marginal whereas Jews were increasingly assimilated in German society and culture; the Gypsies were also far fewer in number, representing about 0.05 percent of the 1933 German population. Nevertheless, there is a striking parallelism between the ideology and process of extermination for Jews and Gypsies. Despite the similarity and simultaneity of persecution, the disparity between the vast quantity of secondary literature about Nazi Judeophobia and the limited number of studies about the fate of Roma and Sinti has inevitably influenced current historical analyses, in which Gypsies are at most an afterthought.³

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To be sure, persecution of Roma and Sinti on racial grounds preceded the Nazi assumption of power. Under the Second Empire and the Weimar Republic, the states of Baden, Bavaria, Bremen, Hesse, and Prussia had developed laws discriminating against Gypsies and established legal stereotypes defining them as vagabonds, asocials, criminals, and racially inferior aliens. Already in 1899, Bavaria had established an "Information Agency on Gypsies" (*Nachrichtendienst in Bezug auf die Zigeuner*) that collected genealogical data, photographs, and fingerprints of Gypsies above the age of six.⁴ Although under Article 108 of the Weimar constitution, Gypsies received full and equal citizenship rights, they were nevertheless vulnerable to discriminatory legislation. The Bavarian law for "Combatting Gypsies, Vagabonds, and the Work Shy" (*Gesetz zur Bekämpfung von Zigeuner, Landfahrern und Arbeitsscheuen*) of 16 July 1926 mandated registration of all domiciled and migratory Gypsies with the police, local registry offices, and labor exchanges. A similar Prussian decree from November 1927 resulted in the creation of special Gypsy identity cards with fingerprints and photographs for 8,000 Roma and Sinti above the age of six. During the last years of the Weimar Republic, arbitrary arrest and preventive detention of itinerant Gypsies — ostensibly for crime prevention — became routine. In April 1929, a national police commission adopted the 1926 Bavarian law as the federal norm and established a "Center for the Fight against Gypsies in Germany" with headquarters in Munich.⁵ This agreement was renewed on 18 March 1933 with the proviso that any state could issue additional regulations.⁶

Clear lines of demarcation cannot be drawn between these Weimar legal precedents that stigmatized Roma and Sinti as habitual criminals, social misfits, vagabonds, and so-called asocials and the first Nazi measures after 1933. Initially, the Nazis developed parallel racial regulations against Jews, Gypsies, and the handicapped. Gypsies were included as "asocials" in the July 1933 Law for the Prevention of Offspring with Hereditary Defects and in the November 1933 Law against Habitual Criminals. The first law resulted in their involuntary sterilization,⁷ while the second permitted their incarceration in concentration camps. The Denaturalization Law of 14 July 1933 and the Expulsion Law of 23 March 1934, initially implemented against *Ostjuden*, was also used to expel foreign and stateless Gypsies from German soil. Following passage of the 1935 Nuremberg racial laws, semi-official commentaries interpreting these laws classified Gypsies, along with Jews and Blacks, as racially distinctive minorities with "alien blood" (*artfremdes Blut*).⁸ Racially mixed marriages between those of German blood and "Gypsies, Negroes, or their bastard offspring" were prohibited on 26 November 1935 in an advisory circular from the Reich Ministry of the Interior to all local registry offices for vital statistics. In the ever escalating series of interlocking Nazi regulations implement-

ing the Nuremberg racial laws, both Gypsies and Jews were deprived of their civil rights.⁹

Already in 1934, the Nazi Racial Policy Office together with the Gestapo began to compile an "asocials catalog." The Nazi police and health bureaucracies continued and expanded the systematic registration of Gypsies as potential criminals, genetically defined, that had already begun during the Weimar Republic.¹⁰ Thus, physical anthropological and genealogical registration (*Rassenbiologische Gutachtung*) identified Gypsies as "racially inferior asocials and criminals of Asiatic ancestry."¹¹ Moreover, Nazi social policy toward Jews and Gypsies resulted in decreased expenditures for welfare; assistance to the growing number of impoverished Jews was assigned to the *Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland* and after 1939 to the *Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland*, whereas indigent Gypsies received progressively less financial assistance from municipal authorities.¹² These same officials subsequently interned Roma and Sinti in Gypsy camps.

A March 1936 memorandum to State Secretary of the Interior Hans Pfundtner contains the first references to the preparation of a national Gypsy law (*Reichszigeunergesetz*) and to the difficulties of achieving a "total solution of the Gypsy problem on either a national or international level." The interim recommendations in this memorandum include expulsion of stateless and foreign Gypsies, restrictions on freedom of movement and on issuing licenses for Gypsies with itinerant trades (*Wandergewerbe*), increased police surveillance, sterilization of Gypsies of mixed German and Gypsy ancestry (the so-called *Mischlinge*), complete registration of all Gypsies in the Reich, and confinement in a special Gypsy reservation.¹³

In lieu of national legislation, the Central Office of Detective Forces (*Reichskriminalpolizeiamt*, or RKPA) and the Reich Ministry of Interior established in early June 1936 the Central Office to Combat the Gypsy Menace (*Zentralstelle zur Bekämpfung des Zigeunerunwesens*) in Munich, which intensified harassment, coercion, and intimidation of Gypsies by the police. This Munich office served as the headquarters of a national data bank on Gypsies and represented all German police agencies with the Interpol International Center for Fighting the Gypsy Menace in Vienna.¹⁴

On 6 June 1936, the Reich and Prussian Ministry of Interior issued a circular containing new directives for "Fighting the Gypsy Plague."¹⁵ The circular also authorized the Chief of the Berlin Police to direct raids throughout Prussia to arrest all Gypsies prior to the Olympic games. Consequently, 600 Gypsies were arrested in Berlin on 16 July 1936, and marched under police guard to a sewage dump adjacent to the municipal cemetery in the Berlin suburb of Marzahn.¹⁶ Although the presence of both sewage and graves violated Gypsy cultural tabus, Berlin-Marzahn became the largest Gypsy camp (*Zigeunerlager*). It consisted of 130 caravans

condemned as uninhabitable by the Reich Labor Service; the camp was guarded by a detachment of Prussian uniformed police (*Schutzpolizei*). The hygienic facilities were totally inadequate; Marzahn had only three water pumps and two toilets. Overcrowding and unsanitary conditions were the norm; for example, in March 1938 city authorities reported 170 cases of communicable diseases.

The Gypsies at Berlin-Marzahn were assigned to forced labor. Further, the Reich Department of Health forced them to provide detailed data for anthropological and genealogical registration. In turn, this data provided the pretext for the denaturalization and involuntary sterilization of the imprisoned Gypsies. The Berlin-Marzahn Gypsy camp provided evidence of a growing interagency cooperation between public health officials and the police, essential for subsequent developments resulting in the deportation and mass murder of German Gypsies.¹⁷ After 1939, the prisoners at Marzahn were compelled to work at forced labor in the Sachsenhausen stone quarries or to clear rubble from Berlin streets after Allied air raids. Most were deported to Auschwitz in 1943.

In spring 1936, the Reich Department of Health created the Racial Hygiene and Demographic Biology Research Unit (*Rassenhygienische und Bevölkerungsbiologische Forschungsstelle*), as its Department L3. Headed by Dr. Robert Ritter, the Unit began systematic genealogical and genetic research in 1937.¹⁸ Ritter and his associates worked in close cooperation with the Central Office for Reich Security (*Reichssicherheitshauptamt*, or RSHA) and the Reich Ministry of Interior. Funded by the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft*, Ritter's unit was assigned to register the approximately 30,000 Gypsies and part-Gypsies in Germany in order to provide genealogical and racial data required for formulating a new Reich Gypsy law. Ritter's group aimed to show that criminal and asocial behavior was hereditary.¹⁹

In 1937, the biological anthropologist Dr. Adolf Würth, one of Ritter's associates, described the growing parallels in Nazi policy toward Jews and Gypsies:

The Gypsy question is for us today primarily a racial question. Thus, the national socialist state will basically have to settle the Gypsy question just as it has solved the Jewish question. We have already begun. Jews and Gypsies have been placed on equal footing in marriage prohibitions in the regulations for implementing the Nuremberg laws for the Protection of German Blood. The Gypsies are not of German blood nor can they be considered related to German blood.²⁰

Würth conducted genealogical and anthropological research on Gypsies in Württemberg and in 1940 supervised the first experimental deportation of 500 Roma and Sinti from the Württemberg state prison at Hohenasperg to Lublin.²¹

After 1935, municipal governments and local welfare offices pressured the German police to confine a growing number of German Gypsies in newly created

municipal *Zigeunerlager*. These Gypsy camps were in essence *SS-Sonderlager*; they combined elements of protective custody concentration camps and embryonic ghettos. Usually located on the outskirts of cities, these *Zigeunerlager* were guarded by the SS, the gendarmerie, or the uniformed city police. After 1935, these camps became reserve depots for forced labor, genealogical registration, and compulsory sterilization. Between 1933 and 1939, *Zigeunerlager* were created in Cologne, Düsseldorf, Essen, Frankfurt, Hamburg, and other German cities. These camps evolved from municipal internment camps into assembly centers (*Sammel-lager*) for systematic deportation to concentration camps after 1939.²²

In Frankfurt, for example, local officials—including Frankfurt Chief of Police Beckerle, Mayor Krebs, and representatives from the welfare office—expanded existing municipal anti-Gypsy ordinances in the spring of 1936. New measures included police searches of all Gypsy residences three times a week; police checks on all Gypsy identity papers to determine whether any were stateless or foreigners, vulnerable to expulsion; compulsory municipal genetic and genealogical registration; resettlement of all Roma and Sinti found within the city limits in the Frankfurt *Zigeunerlager*; prohibition on renting local camp sites to Gypsies located outside the municipal *Zigeunerlager*; and expelling migrant Roma and Sinti upon arrival in Frankfurt.²³

Additional measures in Frankfurt further increased police harassment of both domiciled and migrant Gypsies. The directives included restricting the number of new trade licenses issued to itinerant Gypsies, thereby preventing or limiting employment as knife (or scissors) grinders, horse traders, traveling sales persons, fortune tellers, musicians, and circus performers; checking that Gypsy children attended school, truancy to be punished by removal to municipal juvenile facilities; and compulsory registration of all Gypsies detained or arrested by the police.²⁴ Similar measures were implemented in other German cities.

A reexamination of existing historical literature about the concentration camp system before 1939 reveals that 400 Bavarian Gypsies were deported to Dachau in July 1936. This arrest occurred almost simultaneously with the arrest of Berlin Gypsies and the creation of Berlin-Marzahn. An additional 1,000 Gypsies “able to work” were arrested in raids on 13-18 June 1938 and deported to Buchenwald, Dachau, and Sachsenhausen; women were sent to Lichtenburg in Saxony. These 1938 arrests were authorized under an unpublished decree on “crime prevention” (*vorbeugende Verbrechensbekämpfung*) issued in December 1937. This decree extended the use of preventive arrest to all persons whose asocial behavior threatened the common good, irrespective of whether the individual had a criminal record. It was applied to migrant and unemployed Gypsies, asocials, the unemployed, habitual criminals, homeless panhandlers, beggars, and Jews previously sentenced to jail for more than 30 days (including sentences for traffic violations).

The arrests were made by the Kripo (rather than the Gestapo) and provided the expanding camp system with potential slave labor.²⁵

Austrian and German Gypsies were also sent to Mauthausen and Ravensbrück prior to the outbreak of war in 1939. In summer and fall 1938, about 3,000 allegedly “work shy” Roma and Sinti from the Ostmark were also deported to concentration camps. Thus 2,000 male Gypsies above the age of 16 were sent to Dachau and later remanded to Buchenwald, and 1,000 female Gypsies above the age of 15 were sent to Ravensbrück.²⁶

Although there are still no satisfactory investigations about Gypsies in the pre-1939 concentration camp system, it is clear that this subject raises important questions about the completeness of our knowledge about the concentration camp system on the eve of World War II.

In 1938 and 1939, the Nazi ideological obsession with Gypsies became almost as strident and aggressive as the campaign against the Jews.²⁷ In August 1938, Gypsies were expelled, ostensibly as military security risks, from border zones on the left bank of the Rhine and, once war had begun, they were prohibited from “wandering” in the western areas of the Reich. In May 1938, Himmler ordered that the Munich bureau of Gypsy affairs be renamed *Reichszentrale zur Bekämpfung des Zigeunerunwesens* and placed within the RKPA in Berlin by early October 1938. Moreover, on 8 December 1938, Himmler promulgated his decree “Fighting the Gypsy Plague,” basing it on Robert Ritter’s anthropological and genealogical registration forms (*rassenbiologische Gutachtung*).

Himmler’s decree recommended “the resolution of the Gypsy question based on its essentially racial nature” (*die Regelung der Zigeunerfrage aus dem Wesen dieser Rasse heraus in Angriff zu nehmen*) and mandated that all Gypsies in the Reich above the age of six be classified into three racial groups: “Gypsies, Gypsy *Mischlinge*, and nomadic persons behaving as Gypsies.” The guidelines for implementation published in early 1939 stipulated that the RKPA assist “the development of a comprehensive Gypsy law prohibiting miscegenation and regulating the life of the Gypsy race in German space (*im deutschen Volksraum*).”²⁸ Comprehensive and systematic residential and genealogical registration of Gypsies by local police and public health authorities was required and photo identity cards were to be issued to all Gypsies and part Gypsies. The implementation of Himmler’s decree also resulted in the purge of several dozen Gypsy musicians from the Reich Music Chamber in the spring of 1939, thereby effectively banning any employment.²⁹ The radicalization of Nazi attitudes by 1940 is also evident in a report from 5 February 1940, from Senior State Attorney Dr. Meissner of the Graz Circuit Court (*Oberlandesgericht*) to the Reich Minister of Justice in Berlin, which rejected the idea of Gypsy employment as musicians in Burgenland: “The Gypsies

live almost exclusively from begging and theft. Their work as musicians is simply a cover and not genuine employment.”³⁰

The deportation of German Gypsies began shortly after the outbreak of war in 1939. On 17 October 1939, Reinhard Heydrich issued his so-called *Festsetzungserlaß*, prohibiting all Gypsies and part-Gypsies not already interned in camps from changing their registered domiciles; this measure was essential for implementing deportations.³¹ In the second half of October, Arthur Nebe, chief of the RKPA (RSHA Department V), tried to expedite the deportation of Berlin Gypsies by requesting that Eichmann “add three or four train cars of Gypsies” to the Nisko Jewish transports departing from Vienna. Eichmann cabled Berlin that the Nisko transport would include “a train car of Gypsies to be added to the first Jewish deportation from Vienna.”³² However, the failure of the Nisko resettlement scheme at the end of 1939 precluded the early expulsion of 30,000 Gypsies from the Greater German Reich to the General Government.³³ The aborted October 1939 deportation belatedly took place in May 1940, when 2,800 German Gypsies were deported from seven assembly centers in the Old Reich to Lublin.³⁴ In Austria, the deportations to Poland were planned for the second half of August 1940.³⁵ The rules concerning inclusion and exemption for Gypsies paralleled the later regulations used in Jewish transports.

The property and possessions of the deported Gypsies were confiscated and the deportees were compelled to sign release forms acknowledging the transfer of their possessions as *volks- und staatsfeindlichen Vermögens* (under the Law for the Confiscation of Subversive and Enemy Property initially used for the seizure of assets of proscribed and denaturalized political opponents after July 1933).³⁶ The same confiscatory procedures were also employed during the earliest deportations of Jews, prior to the passage of the 11th Ordinance.³⁷ The deportation of Gypsies was suspended again in October 1940 because of complaints from the General Government. Again in July 1941, the RSHA halted the deportation of East Prussian Gypsies, probably because of the invasion of the Soviet Union, noting that “a general and final solution of the Gypsy question cannot be achieved at this time.” Instead, the RSHA proposed to construct a new *Zigeunerlager* enclosed with barbed wire in the outskirts of Königsberg.³⁸

The patterns of both Gypsy and Jewish deportations reveal the evolving system of killings. Thus, as with the Jewish deportations to Łódź, the deportation of 5,000 Austrian Gypsies from transit camps at Hartburg, Fürstenfeld, Mattersburg, Roten Thurm, Lackenbach, and Oberwart from 5-9 November 1941, dovetailed with the establishment of Chełmno (Kulmhof), where these Gypsies were killed in mobile gas vans in December 1941 and January 1942.³⁹ Similarly, the Gypsies incarcerated in the Warsaw ghetto were deported to Treblinka in the summer of 1942.⁴⁰ By that time, the SS Einsatzgruppen operating in the Soviet

Union and the Baltic region had already killed several thousand Gypsies alongside Jews in massacres. Thus the RSHA reported in its "Situation Report USSR No. 153," that "the Gypsy problem in Simferopol [had been] settled" in December 1941.⁴¹ And in October 1947, Otto Ohlendorf, who had headed the Einsatzgruppe that operated in southern Russia and the Crimea, testified at Nuremberg that the basis for killing Gypsies and Jews in Russia had been the same.⁴² In similar fashion, the Reich Commissar for the Ostland in July 1942 informed the Higher SS and Police Leader in Riga that "treatment of Jews and Gypsies are to be placed on equal footing (*gleichgestellt*)."⁴³

In Germany and Austria Nazi measures were until 1942 primarily directed against Gypsy *Mischlinge*, since Ritter's racial research estimated that 90 percent of the German Roma and Sinti were of mixed ancestry. In 1942, the regime dropped the distinction between part and pure Gypsies and subjected all Gypsies to the same treatment. In 1942 and 1943, when most Gypsy deportations from the Reich occurred, the Nazis also eliminated all distinctions between the treatment of Gypsies and Jews. Thus, on 12 March 1942 new regulations placed Jews and Gypsies on equal footing for welfare payments and compulsory labor.⁴⁴

There is suggestive evidence that Hitler may have been involved in the formal decision to kill the Gypsies. On 3 December 1942, Martin Bormann wrote a letter to Heinrich Himmler, protesting that the Reich Leader SS had exempted certain pure Gypsies from "the measures to combat the Gypsy plague" until additional research into their "language, rituals..., and valuable Teutonic customs" could be completed. Bormann complained that neither the public, nor the party, nor the Führer would "understand or approve." Himmler added a handwritten note on the face of the letter about preparing data on Gypsies for Hitler. The marginalia states: "*Führer. Aufstellung wer sind Zigeuner.*"⁴⁵ Himmler met with Hitler on 10 December 1942, and six days later, responding to Bormann's pressure and probably Hitler's order, Himmler issued his Auschwitz decree on Gypsies, which led to their deportation to and eventual murder in Birkenau.⁴⁶

The evidence suggests that Hitler was directly involved and informed of most killing operations, and that simultaneously the administration of policy by German officials stationed outside Germany cumulatively radicalized the implementation of central policy toward German and European Gypsies.

Already on 26 September 1942, three months before Himmler's Auschwitz decree, 200 Gypsies were transferred from Buchenwald to Auschwitz and assigned to build the new Gypsy enclosure at Birkenau. On 26 February 1943, the first transport of German Gypsies arrived at the newly erected Gypsy "family camp" (BIIf) in Birkenau; Gypsies from occupied Europe arrived at Auschwitz-Birkenau after 7 March 1943.⁴⁷ The pattern of deporting Gypsies as family units was first established during the May 1940 Hohenasperg deportations to Lublin and in

Auschwitz, the history and fate of the Gypsies in the Birkenau *Zigeunerlager* paralleled the creation and later destruction of the so-called *Familienlager* for Theresienstadt deportees in Birkenau BIIb.⁴⁸ On 2 August 1944, the Gypsy camp at Auschwitz-Birkenau was liquidated. By the time Birkenau was evacuated, 13,614 Gypsies from the German Reich had died of exposure, malnutrition, disease, and brutal medical experiments, and 6,432 had been gassed; 32 were shot while trying to escape. Thus, about 20,000 of the 23,000 German and Austrian Roma and Sinti deported to Auschwitz were killed there.⁴⁹ Finally, on 25 April 1943, both Jews and Gypsies were denaturalized and placed on an equal footing under the provisions of the 12th Ordinance to the Reich Citizenship Law.

Despite the growth of specialized monographs, the lacunae in Holocaust literature about Nazi policies toward Roma and Sinti are still vast. Future research projects should address the need for a comprehensive and systematic handbook listing all published and unpublished Nazi laws, ordinances, and directives against German and Austrian Gypsies, as well as similar decrees in the other countries of Axis and occupied Europe. It is also important to analyze the presence and patterns of deportation of German Gypsies to ghettos in Białystok, Cracow, Warsaw, and Łódź. Scattered entries in Adam Czerniakow's diary recorded the presence of German and Polish Gypsies in the Warsaw ghetto in April and June 1942; parallel decrees from the city and county of Warsaw confirm the incarceration of Gypsies in the Warsaw ghetto in June 1942 and their subsequent deportation to Treblinka.⁵⁰

Current literature has also ignored references to Gypsies in Einsatzkommando situation reports from the occupied Soviet Union, although a more systematic analysis would be relatively simple.⁵¹ Likewise, Nazi usage and language toward Gypsies requires more organized analysis, since it seems logical that the pacification and antipartisan operations in the occupied Soviet Union and Baltic, known as *Bandenbekämpfung*, included activities against Jews, Gypsies, and communist partisans. The public language of Nazi propaganda was used both for indoctrination and intimidation, whereas the less public language of Nazi bureaucrats utilized code words and circumlocutions for deportations and killing operations. The Nazis generally described their victims in pejorative terms, transmuting objective language into terms of contempt to describe the victims that their own policies and deeds had created.⁵²

Holocaust historiography during the past forty years has emphasized antisemitism and the Jewish fate. Despite new sources and research during the 1980s, the older interpretations are still dominant. There are still no parallel studies about the fate of Gypsies and Jews in the major German concentration camps (Bergen-Belsen, Buchenwald, Dachau, Mauthausen, Natzweiler, Ravensbrück, and Sachsenhausen), in transit camps such as Westerbork in Holland and Malines in Belgium, in killing centers at Belzec, Chełmno, Sobibor, Treblinka, and Auschwitz-

Birkenau, and in labor camps that dotted the Reich and all of occupied Europe.⁵³ Furthermore, there are no comparative studies about the parallel fate of German Gypsies in concentration camps and *Zigeunerlager* prior to 1939. Current literature analyzing the fate of Roma and Sinti in occupied Europe is still relatively narrow, apart from several significant works about the Netherlands and Czechoslovakia.⁵⁴ The gaps in our knowledge about the Gypsy final solution are still vast, although significant progress has been made toward understanding the connection between Nazi ideology, German social policy, and the genocide of German and European Gypsies.

Notes

Acknowledgments. This article is a revised and expanded version of a paper presented at the 1991 annual meeting of the German Studies Association, Los Angeles.

¹For a discussion of Gypsies in Holocaust historiography, see Sybil Milton, "The Context of the Holocaust," *German Studies Review* 13 (1990): 269-83; and idem, "Gypsies and the Holocaust," *The History Teacher* 24, no. 4 (Aug. 1991): 375-87. For a discussion of postwar trends in German historical literature about Roma and Sinti, see Michael Zimmermann, *Verfolgt, vertrieben, vernichtet: Die nationalsozialistische Vernichtungspolitik gegen Sinti und Roma* (Essen: Klartext, 1989), pp. 87-98; and Kirsten Martins-Heuß, *Zur mythischen Figur des Zigeuners in der deutschen Zigeunerforschung* (Frankfurt: Haag and Herchen, 1983).

²Yehuda Bauer, "Holocaust and Genocide: Some Comparisons," in Peter Hayes, ed., *Lessons and Legacies: The Meaning of the Holocaust in a Changing World* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1991), p. 42; idem, "Jews, Gypsies, Slavs: Policies of the Third Reich," *UNESCO Yearbook on Peace and Conflict Studies* 1985 (Paris, 1987), pp. 73-100; idem, "Gypsies," *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1990), 2: 634-38; Hans-Joachim Döring, *Die Zigeuner im nationalsozialistischen Staat*, Kriminologische Schriftenreihe, vol. 12 (Hamburg: Deutsche Kriminologische Gesellschaft, 1964), pp. 19ff. and 193; Bernhard Streck, "Nationalsozialistische Methoden zur Lösung der 'Zigeunerfrage,'" *Politische Didaktik: Zeitschrift für Theorie und Praxis des Unterrichts* 1 (1981): 26-37; and idem, "Die nationalsozialistischen Methoden zur 'Lösung des Zigeunerproblems,'" *Tribüne: Zeitschrift zum Verständnis des Judentums* 20, no. 78 (1981): 53-77. Two excellent critiques of Streck's misinterpretations and unambiguous use of Nazi stereotypes and linguistic usage are: Joachim S. Hohmann, "Ihnen geschah Unrecht: Zigeunerverfolgung in Deutschland," *ibid.* 21, no. 82 (1982): 100-13; and Romani Rose, "Die neuen Generation

und die alte Ideologie: Zigeunerforschung—wie gehabt?," *ibid.* 21, no. 81 (1982): 88-107.

⁵The most recent examples are Leni Yahil, *The Holocaust: The Fate of European Jewry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990); and Richard Breitman, *The Architect of Genocide: Himmler and the Final Solution* (New York: Knopf, 1991).

⁶For the development of police and psychiatric registration practices in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see Susanne Regener, "Ausgegrenzt: Die optische Inventarisierung der Menschen im Polizeiwesen und in der Psychiatrie," *Fotogeschichte* 10, no. 38 (1990): 23-38.

⁷See Zimmermann, *Verfolgt, vertrieben, vernichtet*; and Joachim S. Hohmann, *Geschichte der Zigeunerverfolgung in Deutschland* (Frankfurt: Campus, 1988).

⁸Karola Fings and Frank Sparing, *Nur Wenige Kamen Zurück: Sinti und Roma im Nationalsozialismus* (Cologne: Landesverband Deutscher Sinti und Roma NRW and El-De-Haus, 1990), p. 3.

⁹Gisela Bock, *Zwangsterilisation im Nationalsozialismus: Studien zur Rassenpolitik und Frauenpolitik* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1986), pp. 361-68 and 452-56.

¹⁰Wilhelm Stuckart and Hans Globke, *Kommentare zur deutschen Rassen-gesetzgebung* (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1936), p. 153; Arthur Gütt, Herbert Linden, and Franz Massfeller, *Blutschutz- und Ehegesundheitsgesetz*, 2d ed. (Munich: J. F. Lehmanns Verlag, 1937), pp. 16, 21, 150, and 226.

¹¹The *Reichsbürgergesetz* of 17 September 1935 reduced Jews and Gypsies to second class citizens because of their "alien blood," and in 1942 the 12th decree to the *Reichsbürgergesetz* resulted in most German Roma and Sinti being declared stateless. Jews and Gypsies above the age of 20 also lost the right to vote in Reichstag elections on 7 March 1936. See Joseph Walk, ed., *Das Sonerrecht für die Juden im NS-Staat: Eine Sammlung der gesetzlichen Maßnahmen und Richtlinien—Inhalt und Bedeutung* (Heidelberg: C. F. Müller Juristischer Verlag, 1981), no. 127 on p. 156. Similarly neither Jews nor Gypsies were permitted to vote in the 10 April 1938 plebiscite on the incorporation of Austria; this directive was issued in Vienna on 23 March 1938, ten days after the incorporation of Austria. See Dokumentationsarchiv des Österreichischen Widerstandes, Vienna [hereafter DÖW], file 11151.

¹²See Franz Calvelli-Adorno, "Die rassische Verfolgung der Zigeuner vor dem 1. März 1943," *Rechtsprechung zum Wiedergutmachungsrecht* 12 (Dec. 1961): 121-42.

¹³See Heinrich Wilhelm Kranz, "Zigeuner, wie sie wirklich sind," *Neues Volk* 5, no. 9 (Sept. 1937): 21-27.

Heinrich Wilhelm Kranz (1897-1945), an ophthalmologist, had joined both the Nazi Party and Nazi Physicians' League prior to 1933. After his appointment to teach race science (*Rassenkunde*) at Giessen, he obtained in 1938 the newly created chair for race science at Giessen University. He became the rector of Giessen in 1940. In Giessen he also headed the Race Political Office of the Gau Hessen-Nassau. In 1940-1941, together with Siegfried Koller, he published their three-volume *Die Gemeinschaftsunfähigen*, advocating sterilization, marriage prohibition, and compulsory internment in labor camps for "asocials."

For biographical data on Kranz, see Berlin Document Center: Heinrich Wilhelm Kranz file; Michael H. Kater, *Doctors Under Hitler* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), pp. 115-19; Benno Müller-Hill, *Murderous Science: Elimination by Scientific Selection of Jews, Gypsies, and Others; Germany, 1933-1945*, trans. George R. Fraser (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), note 73 on p. 181; and Hohmann, *Geschichte der Zigeunerverfolgung*, pp. 115-21.

For the antecedents of Nazi practice and ideology towards Gypsies, see *ibid.*, pp. 48-84. For a brief history of Ritter's office in the *Reichsgesundheitsamt*, see *Bundesgesundheitsblatt* 32 (March 1989), special issue "Das Reichsgesundheitsamt, 1933-1945: Eine Ausstellung."

¹²Bundesarchiv Koblenz [hereafter cited as BAK], R36, files 1022 and 1023: Fürsorge für Juden und Zigeuner. The institutionalized handicapped faced similar deteriorating conditions, see Angelika Ebbinghaus, "Kostensenkung, 'Aktives Therapie' und Vernichtung," in *Heilen und Vernichten im Mustergau Hamburg: Bevölkerungs- und Gesundheitspolitik im Dritten Reich*, ed. Angelika Ebbinghaus, Heidrun Kaupen-Haas, and Karl Heinz Roth (Hamburg: Konkret Literatur Verlag, 1984) pp. 136-46.

¹³BAK, R18/5644, pp. 215-27, containing cover letter and 6 page memorandum from Oberregierungsrat Zindel to Staatssekretär Pfundtner, "Gedanken über den Aufbau des Reichszigeunergesetzes," 4 Mar. 1936. The document states: "Auf Grund aller bisherigen Erfahrungen muss jedenfalls vorweg festgestellt werden, daß eine *restlose Lösung* des Zigeunerproblems weder in einem einzelnen Staate noch international in absehbarer Zeit möglich sein wird" (emphasis in the original).

¹⁴Runderlaß des Reichs- und Preußischen Ministers des Innern betr. "Bekämpfung der Zigeunerplage," 5 June 1936 (III C II 20, Nr. 8/36), in *Ministerialblatt für die Preußische Innere Verwaltung* 1, no. 27 (17 June 1936): 783. Reproduced in facsimile in Eva von Hase-Mihalik and Doris Kreuzkamp, *Du kriegst auch einen schönen Wohnwagen: Zwangslager für Sinti und Roma während des Nationalsozialismus in Frankfurt am Main* (Frankfurt: Brandes and Apsel, 1990), pp. 43-44.

¹⁵Staatsanwaltschaft (StA) Hamburg, Verfahren 2200 Js 2/84: Reich- und Preussisches Ministerium des Innern, Runderlaß betr. "Bekämpfung der Zigeunerplage," 6 June 1936 (III C II 20, Nr. 10/36); published in *Ministerialblatt für die Preußische Innere Verwaltung* 1, no. 27 (17 June 1936): 785. Reproduced in facsimile in Hase-Mihalik and Kreuzkamp, *Wohnwagen*, pp. 44-45.

¹⁶See Ute Bruckner-Boroujerdi and Wolfgang Wippermann, "Das 'Zigeunerlager' Berlin-Marzahn, 1936-1945: Zur Geschichte und Funktion eines nationalsozialistischen Zwangslagers," *Pogrom* 18, no. 130 (June 1987): 77-80.

¹⁷BAK, ZSg 142/3: Report about the Gypsy Camp Marzahn, 1 Sept. 1936, and report by G. Stein, "Untersuchungen im Zigeunerlager Marzahn," Frankfurt, 26 Oct. 1936.

¹⁸See Hans Reiter, *Das Reichsgesundheitsamt 1933-1939: Sechs Jahre nationalsozialistische Führung* (Berlin: Julius Springer Verlag, 1939), pp. 356-58. See also the special issue "Das Reichsgesundheitsamt, 1933-1945: Eine Ausstellung," *Bundesgesundheitsblatt* 32 (March 1989): 13-30; and *Feinderklärung und Prävention: Kriminalbiologie, Zigeunerforschung und Asozialenpolitik*, vol. 6 of *Beiträge zur nationalsozialistischen Gesundheits- und Sozialpolitik* (Berlin: Rotbuch Verlag, 1988).

¹⁹Robert Ritter, "Die Bestandsaufnahme der Zigeuner und Zigeunermischlinge in Deutschland," *Der Öffentliche Gesundheitsdienst* 6, no. 21 (5 Feb. 1941): 477-89; idem, "Die Aufgaben der Kriminalbiologie und der kriminalbiologischen Bevölkerungsforschung," *Kriminalistik* 15, no. 4 (Apr. 1941): 1-4; and idem, "Primitivität und Kriminalität," *Monatsschrift für Kriminalbiologie und Strafrechtsreform* 31, no. 9 (1940): 197-210. See also BAK, R73/14005, containing Ritter's reports and correspondence with the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft; and BAK, ZSg 149/22, Ritter material in the Hermann Arnold Collection.

²⁰Adolf Würth, "Bemerkungen zur Zigeunerfrage und Zigeunerforschung in Deutschland," *Verhandlungen der deutschen Gesellschaft für Rassenforschung, Sonderheft des Anthropologischen Anzeiger Stuttgart* 9 (1937-1938): 92.

²¹Müller-Hill, *Murderous Science*, pp. 143-49.

²²For Cologne, see Karola Fings and Frank Sparing, "Das Zigeuner-Lager in Köln-Bickendorf, 1935-1958," 1999: *Zeitschrift für Sozialgeschichte des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts* 6, no. 3 (July 1991): 11-40. For Düsseldorf, see Angela Genger, ed., *Verfolgung und Widerstand in Düsseldorf, 1933-1945* (Düsseldorf: Landeshauptstadt Düsseldorf, 1990), pp. 126-33. For Essen and Gelsenkirchen, see Michael Zimmermann, "Von der Diskriminierung zum 'Familienlager' Auschwitz: Die nationalsozialistische Zigeunerverfolgung," *Dachauer Hefte* 5 (1989): 87-114; and idem, *Verfolgt, vertrieben, vernichtet*, pp. 18-22. For Frankfurt, see Wolfgang Wippermann, *Die nationalsozialistische Zigeunerverfolgung*, vol. 2 of the four-part study *Leben in Frankfurt zur NS-Zeit* (Frankfurt: Stadt Frankfurt am

Main—Amt für Volksbildung/Volkshochschule, 1986); and Hase-Mihalik and Kreuzkamp, *Wohnwagen*. For Hamburg, see Rudko Kawczynski, "Hamburg soll 'zigeunerfrei' werden," in Ebbinghaus and others, *Heilen und Vernichten im Mustergau Hamburg*, pp. 45-53.

²³Stadtarchiv Frankfurt, Mag. Akte (Stadtkanzlei) 2203, vol. 1: Minutes of the Frankfurt City Council, 20 Mar. 1936, concerning "Massnahmen gegen das Zigeunerunwesen."

²⁴Hase-Mihalik and Kreuzkamp, *Wohnwagen*, p. 42.

²⁵StA Hamburg, 2200 Js 2/84: Decree of the Reich and Prussian Ministry of the Interior concerning "Vorbeugende Verbrechensbekämpfung durch die Polizei," 14 Dec. 1937, and "Richtlinien," 4 Apr. 1938. For the raids against so-called asocials, see Wolfgang Ayaß, "'Ein Gebot der nationalen Arbeitsdisziplin': Die Aktion 'Arbeitsscheu Reich' 1938," *Beiträge zur nationalsozialistischen Gesundheits- und Sozialpolitik* 6 (Berlin, 1988): 43-74. For a survey of the concentration camp system, see Henry Friedlander, "The Nazi Concentration Camps," in *Human Responses to the Holocaust*, ed. Michael Ryan (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1981), pp. 33-69; and Falk Pingel, *Häftlinge unter SS-Herrschaft: Widerstand, Selbstbehauptung und Vernichtung im Konzentrationslager* (Hamburg: Hoffmann and Campe, 1978). On camps for women, see Sybil Milton, "Women and the Holocaust: The Case of German and German-Jewish Women," in *When Biology Became Destiny: Women in Weimar and Nazi Germany*, ed. Renate Bridenthal, Atina Grossman, and Marion Kaplan (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1984), pp. 297-333, esp. pp. 305-7.

²⁶The persecution of Gypsies in incorporated Austria is relatively well documented. See Selma Steinmetz, *Österreichs Zigeuner im NS-Staat* (Vienna: Europa Verlag, 1966); Erika Thurner, *Nationalsozialismus und Zigeuner in Österreich* (Vienna: Geyer Edition, 1983); and Andreas Maislinger, "'Zigeuneranhalte-lager und Arbeitserziehungslager' Weyer: Ergänzung einer Ortschronik," *Pogrom* 18, no. 137 (1987): 33-36.

²⁷See, for example, "Fahrendes Volk: Die Bekämpfung der Zigeunerplage auf neuen Wegen," *NS-Rechtsspiegel* (Munich), 21 Feb. 1939, facsimile in Sybil Milton and Roland Klemig, ed., *Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz*, Vol. 1 of *Archives of the Holocaust* (New York: Garland, 1990), Part 1, figs. 150-51; "Die Zigeuner als asoziale Bevölkerungsgruppe," *Deutsches Ärzteblatt* 69 (1939): 246-47; and "Die Zigeunerfrage in der Ostmark," *Neues Volk* 6, no. 9 (Sept. 1938): 22-27. See also DÖW, file 4942: Oberstaatsanwalt Dr. Meissner, Oberlandesgericht Graz, report to Reichjustizminister, 5 Feb. 1940.

²⁸Runderlaß des Reichsführer SS und Chef der Deutschen Polizei im Ministerium des Innern, 8 Dec. 1938, betr. "Bekämpfung der Zigeunerplage," *Ministerialblatt des Reichs- und Preussischen Ministeriums des Innern* 51 (1938):

2105-10. See also "Ausführungsanweisung des Reichskriminalpolizeiamts," 1 Mar. 1939, published in *Deutsches Kriminalpolizeiblatt* 12, special issue (20 Mar. 1939).

²⁹See National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, Microfilm Publication T-70, reel 109, frames 3632755-6: Peter Raabe's remarks as President of the Reich Music Chamber published in *Amtliche Mitteilungen der Reichsmusikkammer*, 1 May 1939. The lists of expelled Gypsy musicians were published between February and December 1940. See *ibid*, frames 3632796-8, containing the list published on 15 February 1940. This material is cited in Alan E. Steinweis's manuscript, "'Unreliable' and 'Unfit': The Reich Chamber of Culture and the Expulsion of Jews and other 'Dangerous Elements' from German Cultural Life, 1933-1945" (Tallahassee, FL, 1990); courtesy of the author.

³⁰Nuremberg Doc. NG-684, copy in DÖW, file 4942.

³¹StA Hamburg, Verfahren 2200 Js 2/84: RSHA Schnellbrief to Kripo(leit)stellen, 17 Oct. 1939.

³²Zentrale Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen, Ludwigsburg, Slg. CSSR, Bd. 148, pp. 55-57, and Bd. 332, pp. 289-300, 306. See also Jonny Moser, "Nisko: The First Experiment in Deportation," *Simon Wiesenthal Center Annual* 2 (1985): 1-30.

³³BAK, R18/5644, pp. 229-30: Letter from Leonardi Conti, Secretary of State for Health in the Reich Ministry of Interior, to the Central Office of the Security Police, Kripo headquarters, and the Reich Health Department, Berlin, 24 Jan. 1940. The letter states:

It is known that the lives of Gypsies and part Gypsies is to be regulated by a Gypsy law (*Zigeunergesetz*). Moreover, the mixing of Gypsy with German blood is to be resisted and if necessary, this could be legally achieved by creating a statutory basis for the sterilization of part-Gypsies (*Zigeunermischlinge*). These questions were already in a state of flux before the war started. The war has apparently suddenly created a new situation, since the possibility of expelling Gypsies to the General Government is available. Certainly, such an expulsion appears to have particular advantages at the moment. However, in my opinion, the implementation of such a plan would mean that because it is expedient to do this at the moment, a genuine radicalization would not be achieved. I firmly believe, now as before, that the final solution of the Gypsy problem (*endgültige Lösung der Zigeunerprobleme*) can only be achieved through the sterilization of full and part Gypsies.... I think that the time for a legal resolution of these problems is over, and that we must immediately try to sterilize the Gypsies and part Gypsies as a special measure, using analogous precedents.... Once sterilization is completed and these people are rendered biologically harmless, it is of no great consequence whether they are expelled or used as labor on the home front.

³⁴Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Wiesbaden [hereafter cited as HHStA], 407/863. See also Milton, "Gypsies and the Holocaust," pp. 380-81; Zimmermann, *Verfolgt, vertrieben, vernichtet*, pp. 43-50; Hans Buchheim, "Die Zigeunerdeportation vom Mai 1940," in *Gutachten des Instituts für Zeitgeschichte*, 2 vols. (Munich, 1958), 1: 51ff.; and Michael Krausnick, *Abfahrt Karlsruhe 16.5.1940: Die Deportation der Karlsruher Sinti und Roma; ein unterschlagenes Kapitel aus der Geschichte unserer Stadt* (Karlsruhe: Verband der Sinti und Roma Karlsruhe e.V., 1991). The May 1940 deportation was linked to Reinhard Heydrich's instructions to chiefs of police and district governors in Germany in the so-called *Umsiedlungserlaß* of 27 April 1940 for the "resettlement, arrest, and deportation of Gypsies above the age of 17 from western and northwestern border zones." See BAK, R58/473: Richtlinien für die Umsiedlung von Zigeunern, Berlin, 27 Apr. 1940.

³⁵See DÖW, file E18518: letter from Kripostelle Salzburg to the Reichsstatthalter Provincial President Dr. Reitter, Salzburg, 5 July 1940. The Gypsies were to be imprisoned in a special camp until deportation; there they would be registered and giving medical examinations.

³⁶United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, Fojn-Felczer collection: Ruling (*Feststellung*) of the Reich Ministry of Interior, Berlin, 26 Jan. 1943, that Gypsies transferred to concentration camps on orders of the Reich Leader SS were defined as enemies of the Reich and, consequently, their property and possessions could be seized.

³⁷See Henry Friedlander, "The Deportation of the German Jews: Postwar German Trials of Nazi Criminals," *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 29 (1984): 212.

³⁸StA Hamburg, Verfahren 2200 Js 2/84: RSHA Rundschreiben to Kripoleitstelle Königsberg, 22 July 1941. The fate of one East Prussian Sinti family deported to the Bialystok ghetto is detailed in Amanda Dambrowski, "Das Schicksal einer vertriebenen ostpreußischen Sinti-Familie im NS-Staat," *Pogrom* 12, nos. 80-81 (Mar.-Apr. 1981): 72-75.

³⁹See Jerzy Ficowski, *Cyganie na Polskich Drogach* (Cracow: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1985), pp. 129-51; Lucjan Dobroszycki, ed., *The Chronicles of the Lodz Ghetto, 1941-1944* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), pp. 82, 85, 96, 101, and 107; Antoni Galinski, "Nazi Camp for Gypsies," 16 pp. mimeographed paper presented at a conference of the Main Commission for the Investigation of Nazi and Stalinist Crimes in Poland (Warsaw, Apr. 1983); and DÖW, files 11293, 11477, and 18518. See also, Hanno Loewy and Gerhard Schoenberger, "*Unser einziger Weg ist Arbeit*": *Das Getto in Lodz, 1940-1944* (Frankfurt: Löcker Verlag, 1990), pp. 186-87.

⁴⁰Raul Hilberg, Stanislaw Staron, Josef Kermisz, ed., *The Warsaw Diary of Adam Czerniakow: Prelude to Doom* (New York: Stein and Day, 1979), pp. 346-

47, 351, 364-68, and 375. See the decree of the Warsaw police president "Mit den Juden auch die Zigeuner hinter Mauern," *Nowy Kurier Warszawski* no. 131 (5 June 1942); and Michal Chodzko, "Zigeuner in Treblinka," *Rzeczpospolita* (Lublin), no. 35 (6 Sept. 1944), translated and excerpted in Tilman Zülch, ed., *In Auschwitz vergast, bis heute verfolgt: Zur Situation der Roma (Zigeuner) in Deutschland und Europa* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1979), p. 101-3.

⁴¹Nuremberg Doc. NO-3278: "Ereignismeldungen UdSSR 153," 9 Jan. 1942.

⁴²*Trials of War Criminals before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals under Control Council Law No. 10* [Green series], 14 vols. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1950-1952), 4: 286.

⁴³Yivo Institute, New York: Berlin Collection, Occ E 3-61: Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories to Reichkommissar Ostland, 11 June 1942.

⁴⁴StA Hamburg, Verfahren 2200 Js 2/84: Anordnung des Reichsarbeitsministers betr: die Beschäftigung von Zigeuner, 13 Mar. 1942. The parallel law for Jews was "die Verordnung über die Beschäftigung von Juden," 3 Oct. 1941, *Reichsgesetzblatt* 1: 675, and "die Verordnung zur Durchführung der Verordnung über die Beschäftigung von Juden," 31 Oct. 1941, *ibid* 1: 681.

⁴⁵BAK, R19/180.

⁴⁶StA Hamburg, Verfahren 2200 Js 2/84: RSHA Schnellbrief betr: Einweisung von Zigeunermischlinge, Rom-Zigeunern und balkanischen Zigeunern in ein Konzentrationslager, 29 Jan. 1943. The text of the 16 Dec. 1942 unpublished decree has been lost, but the date of the December law is found in the first sentence of the 29 Jan. 1943 Schnellbrief. Prof. Richard Breitman, American University, kindly provided the information about the Himmler meeting with Hitler.

⁴⁷Danuta Czech, *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz-Birkenau 1939-1945* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1989), p. 423.

⁴⁸See Milton, "The Context of the Holocaust," p. 275; and HHStA, 407/863: Richtlinien für die Umsiedlung von Zigeunern, Berlin, 27 Apr. 1940.

⁴⁹See Benno Müller-Hill, *Tödliche Wissenschaft: Die Aussonderung von Juden, Zigeunern und Geisteskranken, 1933-1945* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1984), p. 68ff.

⁵⁰See above, note 40.

⁵¹See Helmut Krausnick and Hans-Heinrich Wilhelm, *Die Truppe des Weltanschauungskrieges: Die Einsatzgruppen der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD 1938-1942* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1981).

⁵²See Henry Friedlander, "The Manipulation of Language," in *The Holocaust: Ideology, Bureaucracy, and Genocide*, ed. Henry Friedlander and Sybil Milton (Millwood, NY: Kraus International Publications, 1980), pp. 103-13.

³³The first special study on labor camps is Romani Rose and Walter Weiss, *Sinti und Roma im Dritten Reich: Das Programm der Vernichtung durch Arbeit* (Göttingen: Lamuv, 1991).

³⁴See Donald Kenrick and Grattan Puxton, *Sinti und Roma: Die Vernichtung eines Volkes im NS-Staat*, trans. Astrid Stegelmann (Göttingen, 1981); originally published as *The Destiny of Europe's Gypsies* (London: Heinemann, 1972). Although dated, this useful study is European in scope. There are few comprehensive accounts for occupied Europe. For Belgium, see José Gotovitch, "Quelques données relatives à l'extermination des tsiganes de Belgique," *Cahiers d'Histoire de la Seconde Guerre Mondiale* 4 (Brussels, 1976): 161-80. For Czechoslovakia, see Ctibor Nečas, *Nad osudem českých a slovenských Cikánů* (Brno, 1981); and idem, "Die tschechischen und slowakischen Roma im Dritten Reich," *Pogrom* 12, nos. 80-81 (Mar.-Apr. 1981): 62-64. For occupied and Vichy France, see Jacques Sigot, *Un camp pour les Tsiganes...et les autres: Montreuil-Bellay, 1940-1945* (Bordeaux: Wallada, 1983); and Uwe Knödler, "Saliers 1942-1944: Ein Roma-lager im besetzten Frankreich," *Pogrom* 20, no. 146 (May 1989): 39-40. For the Netherlands, see B.A. Sijes and others, *Vervolging van Zigeuners in Nederland 1940-1945* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1979). For Poland, see Jerzy Ficowski, *Cyganie na Polskich Drogach*, pp. 129-51; and idem, *Cyganie w Polsce: Dzieje i Obyczaje* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Interpress, 1989). See also David Crowe and John Kolsti, ed., *The Gypsies of Eastern Europe* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1991).

Health and Illness Among the Rom of California

Anne Sutherland

Ideas about health and illness among the Rom are closely related to a world view (romania) that includes notions of auspiciousness and inauspiciousness, purity and impurity, inclusion and exclusion. These basic concepts affect everyday life in many ways including cultural rules about washing, food, clothes, the house, fasting, conducting rituals such as baptism and the slava, and diagnosing illness and prescribing home remedies. This article is a description of the concepts and cultural rules that relate to Rom ideas of the causes of illness and a collection of the many cures that form part of their folk knowledge of remedies.

This paper is an analysis of the medical and religious knowledge of a group of American Rom (Gypsies) in California. ¹ I first define basic Rom concepts of clean (*wužo*) and unclean (*marime*), health (*sastimos*) and illness (*naswalemos*), auspiciousness (*baXr*) and inauspiciousness (*prikaza*), and social order (*romania*). These concepts order the everyday behavior of the Rom and provide the social context of medical and religious knowledge. I then explain more about how these concepts relate specifically to ideas of the causes of illness and spiritual beings such as *mamioro*, the devil (*o beng*) and ghosts (*mule*). Finally I give remedies, prophylactic medicines and dishes that the Rom use in everyday life and in ritual. The purpose of including this collection of folk cures and culinary delights is to have a published record of remedies and recipes that may otherwise be lost.

The information in this article is the result of intensive fieldwork with a group of Rom in California from 1968 to 1970, as well as intermittent contact with them until the present time. The ideas have developed out of my study of Rom social organization (1975), which provides the background for this more specialized topic.

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which they hashed out their ideas, traded knowledge, and discussed their religion with candor and humor. They identified specific plants with the aid of book illustrations. They not only agreed to have their comments taped, they were emphatic in their instructions to me: publish the remedies, "because the young kids don't know what's good for them!" They fear, understandably, that their grandchildren, who are turning more and more to American medicine, will lose the knowledge they have of herbs and plants, illnesses, and cures. This article, therefore, is dedicated to the new generation of Rom who, I hope, will value these remedies, and to Šrecha, Persa, Ruša, Rupiš, and Geiža, who have made it possible.

The Basic Concepts

The social context of Rom medical and religious knowledge begins with an understanding of Rom attitudes in general towards health and illness, auspiciousness and inauspiciousness, and cleanliness and uncleanness. These attitudes are reflected in the use of certain key concepts:

<i>sastimos</i> (health)	<i>naswalemos</i> (illness)
<i>baXt</i> (auspiciousness)	<i>prikaza</i> (inauspiciousness)
<i>wužo</i> (purity)	<i>marime</i> (impurity; exclusion)
<i>romania</i> (social order)	

Sastimos and Naswalemos

Sastimos means good health and a general state of well being. However, *sastimos* has a broader meaning than our common concept of being in a state of good and sound health. It is a condition that is dependent on three factors: the behavior of the individual involved, the actions of his social group, and fate. Each person needs good fortune (*baXt*) to remain healthy and to some extent *baXt* is controllable, for there are many ways to influence one's *baXt*. As with *baXt*, an individual can also, by his actions, promote his own health or cause his own illness.

Correct social behavior, in many particular ways, is closely linked with good health, and an infringement of certain social rules can result in illness. The link between social behavior and health will emerge more specifically later. However, attitudes and behavior towards one's fellow Rom are not the only ones that affect the individual's state of health. Attitudes and behavior towards the dead, the *mule* (spirits of the dead), the saints, and God himself, are all important factors in determining a healthy condition.

Naswalemos, or illness, is the opposite of good health. Like health, illness is partly the result of fortune and partly the result of specific behavior by the individual towards his fellow Rom. However, illness is not just the concern of the individual, but is a social problem of great importance to the Rom. A serious illness always involves the expression of great concern from a wide circle of relatives (as many as his whole *vitsa* [loosely, 'lineage']) that each person acknowledges in the form of a willingness to drop everything and rush to the bedside of the stricken with little concern for other duties, or for distance.

Other social expressions of illness may be very important as well. A *slava* or saint's day feast may be given by a group of Rom in order to improve the general health of group members. If a person recovers from a severe illness or accident, the family of that person may promise always to honor a certain saint with a feast.

Many illnesses are felt to be the result of the contamination or pollution of a person because of his, or another's actions. Being in a state of impurity is said to result in serious consequences such as physical deformities, mental illness or retardation, epilepsy, venereal disease and psoriasis. Returning to a state of purity and conforming to correct social behavior is necessary to cure these conditions. For example, a young person who exhibits rebellious behavior and may be in danger of pollution through illicit sexual relations can be "cured" by marriage. Several Rom also suggested that marriage is a cure for epilepsy and mental retardation, probably because it resulted in improved "behavior."

BaXt and Prikaza

Good fortune and good health are closely associated for the Rom as expressed in their most common blessing, *te del o Del tuke baXt hai sastimos*, 'May God give you luck and health.' A person who enjoys good health is also a person who has been blessed with good fortune, and a person who is ill is someone who has lost his good luck.

Most everyday objects—such as colors, numbers, and foods—and most everyday actions are classified as either auspicious or inauspicious, and all Rom, in varying degrees, avoid actions which are *prikaza*. Seven and three are the most lucky numbers, and most ritual acts are performed in threes. Red and green are lucky colors. Red is the color of happiness and good health and is worn by unbaptized babies to protect them from illness (see remedies 53 and 54) and by brides to bring happiness and luck. Certain green plants, such as ferns and the resurrection plant (genus *Selaginella*) (53), are kept in the house for luck. Black is an inauspicious color and is avoided except when in mourning.

A fat person is one who is healthy and fortunate, and a thin person must either be ill or too poor to eat, both of which indicate a lack of good luck. Wealth

is also partly attributed to luck because although each family develops similar economic skills, some are more fortunate than others. Some families enjoy good health, grow to a large size and prosper, while others are plagued with illness, family troubles, and economic failure. In such a situation one must take positive action to change one's fate. Personal cleanliness, proper social attitudes and behavior (generosity and virtuosity) should bring good luck. In some circumstances, such as after a death in the family when the *mulo* (spirit of the dead) may be a source of *prikaza*, moving to another place may improve one's fortune. In a more general sense, traveling as opposed to living in one place is considered by many to be more auspicious.

While luck is attributed to God, *prikaza* is attributed to the devil (*o beng*) and certain malevolent spirits such as *mamioro* and *martiya* (the night). *Martiya* is particularly dangerous to babies who will become ill and even die if they come in contact with *martiya*.

There is another kind of bad luck called *gažengi baXt*, literally 'luck of the *gaže* (non-gypsies).' *Gažengi baXt* refers to small misfortunes such as losing something or having a flat tire. All important instances of bad luck, however, are *prikaza*.

Wužo and Marime

Marime, meaning polluted, defiled or unclean, is at the same time the most crucial and the most difficult concept to understand. Not all Gypsies in the world use the word *marime* or *mahrime* though it is known by all North American Rom, but all Gypsy groups for which detailed ethnographic data are currently available have some term to indicate a defiled condition.²

Marime has several meanings which fall into two basic categories. First, it is used to indicate uncleanliness or impurity of a physical as well as a ritual or moral nature. But it always indicates a state of pollution rather than simply "dirty" in a temporary and easily rectifiable way, which would be called *melalo*. For example, hands that are covered in grease from working on a car are *melale*, whereas hands that have touched the genitals are *marime*.

The state of cleanliness or purity (*wužo*) is dependent on a correct separation of the parts of the body. To avoid pollution, the top half of the body, from waist up, ideally must be kept separate, and therefore *wužo*, from the bottom half which is considered *marime*. The source of pollution of the lower body is the genital-anal area and its secretions. The impure condition of the body is closely associated with illness. A failure to keep the two sections of the body separate in everyday living can result in serious illness. A large number of practical guidelines about washing the body and clothes and preparing food is necessary to keep the

upper half of the body pure, and these practices are sometimes hard to keep up. However, body separation is primarily a general cultural ideal practiced more in public than in private. No one can adhere to the ideal, nor is it considered necessary to do so, but if certain illnesses occur, infringement of this ideal may be considered related to the onset of illness.

The second meaning of *marime* is what the Rom translate as “rejected.” The two meanings, impurity and rejection, are overlapping since to become physically or morally impure could mean “rejection” by the Rom as a group. Non-gypsies are “rejected” or outside the group’s moral boundary primarily because they fail to maintain the correct conditions of body cleanliness and therefore threaten the purity of the Rom who have contact with them. However, once a non-gypsy is known to observe proper cleanliness, this threat is diminished. In the few cases when non-gypsy women marry Rom and live with the group, their cleanliness status must be verified, and often they become so conscious of this problem that they uphold the rules to an unbearable degree.³

Though these are the two primary meanings of *marime*, it is a broader concept than either body pollution or rejection from the Rom as a social group. The term *marime* is applied in a number of contexts to indicate a social boundary.

It is the use of the term *marime* as a defining mechanism for a whole series of social boundaries that gives it such importance for the Rom.⁴ It is also in this sense that *marime* is such a flexible concept. It defines boundaries for new and changing situations and brings a moral order to bear in such situations. *Marime* is the moral language within which otherwise ambiguous social situations are given meaning.

The most important boundary is that between Rom and non-gypsies. Close relations with non-gypsies, which would include sharing food and personal physical contact (particularly sexual contact), are in certain circumstances considered *marime*. To share food prepared by non-gypsies is more likely to be considered *marime* than for a non-gypsy to share food prepared by the Rom. Sexual contact with non-gypsies is always *marime* for a woman, but not always for a man. In both cases public knowledge and gossip increase the danger of an action being considered *marime*.

Non-gypsies are also considered to be the source of many diseases, particularly venereal disease, so that not only their persons, but public places such as public toilets, hospitals, buses, schools, offices, jail, and non-gypsy homes are all less clean than the homes of Rom and open outdoor spaces such as parks and woods. When they must be in public places the Rom generally avoid touching polluted surfaces as much as possible, but, of course, prolonged occupation of a non-gypsy place (for example, a regular job or a stint in jail) means certain pollution. Many places can be altered to make them more clean. A house formerly occupied by non-gypsies can be painted and cleaned with bleach; food in a restaurant can at least be eaten with

the hands rather than with utensils; drinks can be taken from paper cups; paper towels can be used to turn faucets and open doors in toilets, and so on.

Other boundaries marked by pollution categories include various sub-groups of Rom and age categories. Rom need to know the *vitsa* and *natsia* ('tribe') of other Rom in order to understand their relative social position, both in terms of degree of kinship relatedness to each other, as well as their relative positions in terms of morality and purity. Age categories also carry an accompanying general purity or pollution status which is associated with the concept of shame.⁵ A child, after the pollution of birth, at more or less six weeks, is considered basically pure in body and action. Children can enjoy freedom from most social restraints and are not expected to understand or demonstrate "shame" in their actions. At puberty, boys and girls are introduced to the idea of personal shame, control of sexual relations and rules about body cleanliness. Basically such controls last throughout married life until old age. At old age many of these regulations are relaxed. Old people are venerated and respected persons, both because they are politically powerful (political authority is vested in the aged), and because they now enjoy a pure status. Purity may be regarded as a language for expressing the secular authority of the elderly. Without a reputation for morality and cleanliness, no man or woman will become a respected leader and a powerful influence among Rom.

This brings me to a final concept, *romania*, which sums up the relationship between all concepts, boundaries, and other factors mentioned so far.

Romania

Romania is the state of being a Rom; it includes the conditions and rules for identity as a Rom; it indicates the social behavior that each individual must accept at least in principle to be a Rom; it implies a purity status that is accepted by other Rom. *Romania* is the essence of Rom collective representations; it is the social order par excellence. It is the collective values, ideas, beliefs, actions, and behavior of the Rom. In English, the Rom translate *romania* as "religion." Beliefs and actions that seriously deny, infringe or degrade *romania* are *marime*. Persons who disregard *romania* in some important way are "rejected" by the group, and only if they take the correct procedures for reinstatement into the group can they resume normal relations and become pure again.⁶

The Basic Concepts in Everyday Life

The concepts the Rom use to approach general questions of health and happiness are applied in everyday life. In this section, I want to deal with practices

concerned with general cleanliness and health and with the specific relationship between food and health.

Cleanliness and Health

Both washing and eating practices are fundamental to the maintenance of a healthy life. The observance of these practices does not guarantee health because there are other evil forces prevailing, and besides one's luck may always fail. But it is not possible to remain healthy unless such practices are, on the whole, observed. No Rom, no matter how careful he or she may be, can expect to maintain perfect cleanliness at all times. Circumstances vary, and adaptability is essential, but as much as possible the Rom try to uphold in their day-to-day existence the general principles of *romania*. They begin with their own bodies.

The Body

The Rom divide the body at the waist, *maškar*, a term which also means the spatial middle of anything. The upper half of the body is *wužo* and must be kept that way. The lower half is *marime* and must be prevented from polluting the upper half. The hands (*was*) move between the two halves and have an indeterminate pollution status which depends on what they have touched. Shame (*lažav*) is associated with the lower half of the body but not with the upper half. Excretions from the upper half of the body are not polluting or shameful. Spit is, in fact, a clean and curative substance which may be used to clean cuts or scratches (6 and 15), to ease childbirth pains (11), or to counter the evil eye (20). Blowing air from the mouth is also clean and sometimes curative (15 and 56), and *čoxai* (ghost's vomit) is the most effective Rom cure of all (5, 19, 32, 34, 44, and 48).

Menstrual blood, urine, feces, and semen are highly polluting substances, and contact with them can cause illness. Such substances must be controlled and contained as much as possible. I have no information on the control of semen as this would be exclusively a concern of males, and such things are never discussed with females, but I can illustrate the nature of these controls with female data. Menstruation, for example, is surrounded by a number of rules to control the ill effects of the bodily function. When a girl first menstruates she is introduced to shame and a dramatic change of status. Before menstruation she is a child (*šey*), can wear short skirts ("American clothes"), and is not a pollution danger to men. Once a girl menstruates, she must observe the washing, dressing, cooking, eating and behavioral rules of adult women, partly for her own protection and partly for the protection of men. The most immediately noticeable change is that she must begin wearing "Gypsy" clothes—a separate top and long skirt—and can no longer use the clothes

"Gypsy" clothes—a separate top and long skirt—and can no longer use the clothes of pre-menstrual girls, but can now borrow the clothes of girls who have menstruated. Her clothes must be washed separately from those of men and children and then must be separated further according to "top" clothes and "bottom" clothes, consistent with the prohibition of wearing one-piece dresses and the switch to blouse and long skirt. She must never handle food if her hands have touched menstrual blood (without carefully washing them first). She must show respect to men by not passing in front of them, stepping over their clothes or allowing her skirts to touch them. Finally, she begins to keep a fast (*posto*) on Fridays.

A girl who menstruates also must begin to sleep separately from young girls because "it might rub off on them," and during her menses she should sleep facing the wall in a corner with her legs crossed or clamped together. She can now join groups of post-puberty girls and enter into their discussions fully. On one occasion when two girls met for the first time they exchanged information on their relationship to people in the *kumpania* and then inquired if the other had menstruated yet. This was necessary information for forming a friendship and knowing whether they could touch each other or not.

Many of these prohibitions for menstruating girls vary according to the *natsia*, *vitsa* and household. Sleeping arrangements are not the same in each household; fasting varies from family to family; and the participation of women in cooking may depend partly on the size of the family and the number of boys and girls.

According to several women, modern paraphernalia for menstruation has released them from the most onerous rules. Previously no cooking was allowed and this is still the case for pregnant women, but recently careful cleanliness and avoidance of the touch of menstrual blood with the hands means that women can now cook and serve food during menstruation. However, there is still a certain reluctance to eat food cooked by a menstruating woman. For example, Yana refused to eat food cooked by Rosie and politely claimed that she was dieting because she felt unsure of Rosie's habits of cleanliness and was afraid she might have touched menstrual blood once. Yana, a Mačwanka, stated that she would only eat food cooked by her own family because she could be sure they were clean; however, this was not exactly true because she did eat at public rituals.

There are some further points to remember. Not all blood is polluting. Blood from the veins is clean, and red as a color is associated with *baXt* and happiness. The blood in *čoxai* is curative and *stradniki* or nine brothers' blood is also an important medicine (25) and is prophylactic in amulets (44). Although urine and feces and places associated with them are *marime*, there is a lot more ambiguity towards sexual intercourse and fluids associated with it. The experience of sexual intercourse (ideally at first marriage) brings about the application of a whole series

of rules about washing and public behavior associated with a sense of shame (*lažav*). This does not necessarily mean that the private act of sexual intercourse is inhibited or avoided as something “dirty.” Shame is the *public* expression of correct behavior, and although there is some overlapping, it does not dictate the expression of private matters. A woman, for example, would not step over her husband’s clothes and expose them to her genitals in front of others, but in private she may not need to take such a precaution against polluting her husband.

Washing

Washing and bathing are necessary to have a clean body, but washing indiscriminately is worse than no washing at all because the first principle to be observed is the correct separation of the upper and lower halves of the body. Both soap and towels are allocated either for use on the upper part of the body or the lower, and these must not be allowed to mix.⁷ The head, hair, and face are most important to be kept clean, and items used on them—such as razors, soap, combs, towels, the *diklo* (head scarf), hats, etc.—must not be allowed to become polluted.⁸

On a man, a big head is a sign of good health and good looks. The worst threat of pollution a woman can levy against a man is to throw her skirts over his head, thereby requiring him to exonerate himself in a public trial (*kris romani*) to remove the *marime* stigma.⁹ The hair is also carefully controlled. Hair should not be combed when in mourning or when ill with measles (54). Women should not cut their hair, except a small piece for luck (*baXt*) on Fridays, and it should always be bound up, and, for married women, covered with a *diklo*. Young women do not always take such precautions, but older women instruct them to do so.

For ritual occasions, such as a *slava* or when praying at the household shrine, washing is more carefully done. Julie explained that on Friday, a day of fasting, she always cleaned the house, washed her face and combed her hair carefully, donning a clean *diklo*, abstained from smoking or drinking, and prayed for the good health of her family at the family shrine.

In mourning, such cleanliness standards are reversed.¹⁰ Relatives of the deceased must abstain from washing, shaving, combing hair, or changing clothes, for three days. This defiled condition of the body is accompanied by wailing, tearing out hair, and beating the breast, by the side of the coffin. Public flagellation and defilement of the upper body after death indicate a transition period accompanied by the expression of extreme grief. After the third day, both cleanliness and a more happy outward appearance are conventional.

Like the body, all things that come into intimate contact with the body are subject to the principle of separation into *wužo* and *marime* categories. Food and food related items (e.g. dishes, dish and table cloth, pans), must be kept separate

from items contacting the body. In general there is a division between items that enter the body (food) and items that touch the body externally (clothes).

Clothes used above the waist must be washed separately from clothes contacting the lower body. An important exception to this basic division was the apron (*katrinsa*) which is used to handle food and is always insulated from the body by several layers of clothes; therefore, it is regarded as a "clean" item and is washed often with food items. The apron of a well-known ancestress or *drabarni* ('healer') has some ritual and medical efficacy. It is carefully kept long after death and bits of it are used to make amulets for her young grandchildren (44).

Items used by men ideally should be washed separately from items used by women. This practice prevents the possibility of mixing pollution between the sexes. Children's clothes are always washed separately from food items, and in some households pre-puberty girls are not allowed to wear the clothes of their post-puberty sisters. In general, children's clothes are not the object of as much attention as the clothes of adults.

Clothes

The cleanest and purest clothes are new ones. Since they have never touched the body, they cannot have become polluted through contact with *marime* substances or through improper separation in washing. For ritual occasions, when purity is most important, new clothes are essential. At an Easter feast, which is a ritual partly associated with promoting good health, every Rom, male or female, adult or child, was dressed in new clothes for the occasion, including new underwear, socks, and shoes. In contrast to new clothes, which are pure, clothes worn by non-gypsies are almost certainly impure through incorrect separation, so that most Rom, even when quite poor, will not wear clothes worn by non-gypsies. When they do, they usually limit themselves to upper body clothes, such as sweaters, or they take these items, unravel them, wash them carefully, and crochet them into rugs and blankets. This process makes the items acceptable for use.

When washing clothes, separate tubs and wash loads are organized along the top-bottom and male-female divisions. Thus for clothes, the strictest households had four separate washings of (a) male top, (b) male bottom, (c) female top, and (d) female bottom. Face cloths (top), body towels (bottom), pillow cases (top) and sheets (bottom) were also put into the appropriate one of the four loads. Again, in the households that maintained the strictest interpretation of pollution rules, four tubs were required for the four separate washes, but some women, for convenience, used one washing machine only, and a few of the less fastidious went to laundromats where non-gypsies washed. In all households that I knew, another basin was kept specifically for food-related items (dishes, tablecloths, dishcloths, etc.) which must

be kept particularly pure, and yet another was used for the floor cloths, mops, etc which are *marime*. A dish cloth that falls to the floor is not used again for dishes or surfaces where food is prepared or served.

The House

The house and its furnishings are also ordered by the division into *wužo-marime* areas or items. A house formerly occupied by non-gypsies must be scrubbed, painted and reorganized appropriately for Rom existence. Otherwise, the occupants will be susceptible to diseases attributed to contact with non-gypsies. When a Rom family occupies a house formerly occupied by non-gypsies, they usually remove walls to create a single room, with the exception of the kitchen, which is a private family area, and the bathroom area. Then the walls are painted or paneled and the floors are disinfected with astringents. Incense may be burned throughout the house to purify it as well as remove the "smell" of the non-gypsies. Apart from beds, sofas and coffee tables, very little furniture is considered essential. Those who can afford it buy new items, but if this is not possible, used items that can be washed and purified (i.e. made from wood or plastic) are preferred. Lee (1971: 35-36) mentions that some homes have a special chair for non-gypsies, and I found that many homes allotted special dishes for non-gypsies to use.

The bathroom is a *marime* area and it is considered impolite to mention its use or to be too obvious about using it. The floor is also a *marime* area, and clean items that fall to the floor are either discarded or must be washed especially carefully (e.g., by soaking overnight in bleach). The floor often has food scraps, cigarette butts, and other discarded items, but it is swept at least every morning. It is not considered *marime*, only *melalo*, to have rubbish scattered around on the floor since that is an appropriate place for such things. Thus, what may seem untidy or unclean to a non-gypsy is not so for the Rom who is concerned mainly about correct separation of *wužo* and *marime*. However, a tidy house is an indication of moral and ritual purity and is considered to be conducive to good health. Besides, *mamioro*, the spirit who is responsible for many serious illnesses, visits homes that are dirty as well as *marime* places, such as garbage dumps.

Food

The Rom seek to eat food only if it is pure and clean. Consequently, there are many regulations regarding the preparation and handling of food. As for all people, for the Rom, eating is not only necessary biologically, it is imbued with great social significance. Sharing food is a statement of respect, friendship and acceptance of each other's cleanliness. To refuse to share food is to malign and insult a

person by denying that he or she is a pure person. The most serious punishment that the Rom as a group can levy against any individual is to refuse commensality. All rituals at which the Rom express important unifying social values involved the sharing of food as a group at a feast table. This includes life cycle rituals such as weddings, baptism, and funeral feasts, as well as other rituals such as various *slave* (saint's day feasts), a *pakiv* (a feast in honor of an important person), and even the *diwano* and *kris romani*, the trials at which laws of social behavior are resolved.

All food must be carefully prepared to avoid any *marime* contacts. Thus cooking as well as eating utensils and paraphernalia are always washed in a special basin with cloths reserved exclusively for these items. In many households, one soap is reserved for food-related items, and even the hands are washed only with one soap. Pregnant women, women in birth confinement (which varies from nine days to six weeks), and menstruating women do not usually handle food, since they might contaminate it. Food prepared by non-gypsies is avoided because it is not prepared according to these rules. Avoidance is not always possible, especially when traveling, and many Rom nowadays, for convenience, have taken to eating in restaurants, though they still avoid non-gypsy homes fairly strictly. When in restaurants, however, they try to avoid as many *marime* contacts as possible, and prefer establishments that serve wrapped take-away foods or food in disposable paper. To avoid utensils that have been washed improperly, they may simply eat with their hands as is their custom at home. On one unforgettable occasion, when a group of Rom and I were forced to eat in a swank restaurant in San Francisco, I was severely lectured by my Gypsy host on the terrible pollution dangers to which we were all exposed and the diseases we were likely to come down with, while irate waiters and other customers stared in disgust at us because we ate everything with our hands.

Cleanliness in food preparation is particularly important on ritual occasions. This may be because the effectiveness of the ritual would be affected, but it is also because at any ritual feast many Rom come together to eat, and there must be no cause for concern over food purity. To refuse to eat at a ritual is highly insulting. Even to fail to turn up at a ritual where one is expected is a slight on the reputation and cleanliness status of the host and can result in serious fights between rival groups.¹¹ To avoid such disasters, on ritual occasions, special precautions are taken. Fresh fruits and vegetables are bought in unpacked crates. Drinks are bought in cases or beer in kegs, and meat is bought on the hoof and is butchered by elderly Rom. Buying in bulk is not only convenient and economical for large gatherings, it is the best way to ensure that non-gypsies have not handled the food and that the most fastidious care is taken in its preparation.

All cups, plates, napkins, and table cloths on a feast table must be pure; therefore, disposable items are always used so that each person has unused table

implements. The availability of paper and plastic products has greatly simplified the preparation of a feast table.

Eating impure food is one way of contracting disease, particularly diseases associated with non-gypsies. However, purity in food is more than avoidance of germs and spoilage; it is regulated by the same principle of separation of *wužo* and *marime* that regulates the body in general. Ensuring the cleanliness of food therefore is part of the general concern for cleanliness in everyday life, but there is more to the relationship between food and health than cleanliness. I have already mentioned that sharing food is a fundamental aspect of ritual and would like to explore this further.

The Specific Relationship of Food to Health

In the discussion of the concept of *baXt* (auspiciousness) it was pointed out that *baXt* and health are inseparable in that to enjoy good health one must have *baXt* and to have good luck necessarily implies good health. Many items, colors, and numbers are considered to promote *baXt*, and others are specifically unlucky. Certain foods are also lucky, and eating them encourages both good luck and good health. The most commonly mentioned were black pepper; red pepper; salt, used especially at weddings; vinegar, including anything pickled in vinegar; garlic; and onions.

These *baXt* foods go into almost every main dish the Rom prepare, particularly important ritual dishes such as *sarme*, stuffed cabbage. They are also frequently put into amulets or used for cures. Garlic and black pepper, for example, are some of the items put into the amulet hung around the neck of an unbaptized child to ward off illness (44, 48 and 49). Garlic (7, 13, 21, 23, 37, 42, 57), onions (9, 13, 31), and vinegar (7, 23, 30, 37) are also used in cures for many ailments.

One family always hung a piece of bacon impregnated with black pepper outside for good luck. *Mule* are said to be especially fond of *baXt* foods and other sour foods and come to get them at night. When a relative dies, some families place all sour foods—vinegar, lemons and sour cream—outside, so that spirits will not bring bad luck (*prikaza*) by coming inside for them. *BaXt* foods, as well as the cooking of ritual food, are prohibited to mourners, though nowadays many families may not observe this prohibition for more than nine days.

Fasting

It is auspicious to avoid certain foods at certain times. *Posto* is the custom of abstaining on Fridays from consumption of all animal products (meat, eggs, lard,

butter) except fish. *Posto* is normally observed only by persons who can have sexual intercourse and is probably regarded as a cleansing act. Many families pledge a certain period of *posto* when a family member becomes ill in the belief that it will help their recovery. *Posto* is not usually observed by pre-puberty children, elders, or women in birth confinement. Women in birth confinement may not observe *posto*, but they should avoid a number of foods that are normally associated with good health, namely *baXt* foods and green vegetables. These foods are considered dangerous to the health of the nursing baby, but after birth confinement, the baby is protected by amulets containing some *baXt* foods. As mentioned earlier, *baXt* foods are also prohibited to mourners. Thus it appears that foods which are considered auspicious normally are not auspicious in the transition stages¹² of birth and death, and foods that are normally prohibited on Fridays are not prohibited after birth.

Normal		Transition	
<i>baXt</i> foods	+	-	(after birth and death)
<i>posto</i> foods	-	+	(after birth)

Illness, Death and Ritual

It has been my contention that the fundamental structure of Rom behavior (*romania*) is based on the separation of *wužo* from *marime*, purity from impurity. I have discussed the broader implications of the concepts of purity and impurity to related concepts such as auspiciousness and inauspiciousness and have demonstrated some of the ways that these concepts apply to everyday life. The details of the interpretation of these concepts may vary according to the *natsia* or *vitsa* a Rom belongs to as well as according to individual standards. No particular practice applies to each and every Rom, although all Rom share a common understanding of the basic concepts. However, no Rom can feel sure that he or she has done everything possible to keep pure, to promote auspiciousness, and in general to live up to the ideals of *romania*. Therefore it is not surprising that they become ill or suffer some misfortune. Since the observance of *romania* is not sufficient, and since people do become ill and eventually die, there must be some way to cope with these problems.

The Rom have very strong feelings about illness and death and see both as a time of great crisis, not only for the individual who is afflicted, but for the immediate family and the wider circle of relatives as well. Thus, illness and death are treated as both an individual as well as a social problem in the same way that questions of purity and pollution have both individual and social ramifications. One

of the implications of the social importance of illness and death is the great amount of ritual that is concerned specifically with the assurance of good health and the prevention of illness, and in the event of death there is a long series of ritual memorial feasts that help the dead to arrive at their final rest and at the same time protect the relatives of the deceased.

There are two major rituals that are specifically concerned with the prevention of illness: baptism and the *slava*.

Concern for the health of an individual begins at birth and is most active during the days or weeks of confinement of the mother, from nine days to six weeks. The infant mortality rate for the approximately 400 Rom (50 couples) who lived in Richmond in 1967 was as high as 25 per cent of all reported past pregnancies and births. The situation is somewhat improved nowadays as more women give birth in hospitals where emergency service is available; however, pre-natal care is still entirely neglected because few women will accept an internal examination by an obstetrician. The advantage of a hospital birth is the easy avoidance of polluting birth substances and the *prikaza* of an infant death. These problems can be left to be handled by the hospital staff. Many Rom prefer home deliveries (11) nevertheless.

The Rom recognize that a baby is very vulnerable in the first weeks of life and take several precautions to protect the child. A new baby is immediately swaddled tightly and handled only by the mother. The mother avoids certain foods, such as green vegetables and tomatoes, so that the nursing baby will not get colic (12). The navel is carefully cleaned and protected with ashes (28), and amulets are sewn into the baby's clothing for protection (44). In the first weeks no member of the family is allowed to go in and out of the house at night, and all windows and doors are kept shut lest *martiya*, a spirit of death called "the night" enter to harm the baby. Crying and fear are prevented by placing a small piece of *čoxai* on the baby's tongue (48), and measles can be treated with home remedies (54). A resurrection plant, sometimes called St. Mary's hand is kept at the home shrine to bring good luck and health (53). Visitors are carefully watched lest they give the baby the evil eye (*yakhalo*) (20), and if the baby fusses or becomes ill, the giver must make a cross with spittle on the forehead of the baby.

If, in spite of these precautions, a baby dies, it is *prikaza* for the parents. They must avoid the baby, who is buried in a secret place by the grandparents. Another way to avoid the *prikaza* of the death of a baby is to leave the funeral to the hospital authorities or any other non-gypsy.

On the third day after birth, a set of clothes is made for the child. These clothes have a special significance and may be kept for a person's lifetime. The three day dress has to be made by three women, preferably of three ages, old, middle-aged and young, and three different relationships to the child (mother, grandmother, and sister, for example).

Baptism

The most significant action parents can take to ensure their child's good health is to arrange for its baptism. The Rom baptism includes the Christian ritual although Christian ceremony alone is not sufficient. I shall describe the baptism of a Mačwaya child that I attended; however this baptism included several unusual conditions. The mother of the child, Fatima, was in disgrace because she had had yet another child by her husband of a Rom marriage. Fatima's family was trying to arrange a trial for her husband because he had married a non-gypsy woman in an American legal ceremony. Because of the tenuous status of Fatima's marriage, her latest child was being adopted by her parents who then arranged for the child's baptism. Another unusual feature of this baptism was the selection of non-gypsy godparents for the child. The choice of godparents was due in part to the pending *marime* trial which meant that other Rom were cautious about becoming involved. But there were also pragmatic reasons, since these particular godparents were very tolerant landlords of Fatima and her parents. It is certainly not unheard of for the Rom to ask non-gypsies to be godparents, for there were several cases of this in Richmond. In all cases they were persons of some economic or political importance to the Rom, such as a policeman or social worker.

The godparents were responsible for buying the child a set of christening clothes. On the day of the baptism, the godparents collected the baby from her crib. When they picked up the baby they left a silver coin under the baby. This coin will be saved for the baby to bring her good luck (3). Then the godparents took the baby to church for the Catholic baptism, which was a full one-hour ceremony. No Rom accompanied them to the church. When the godparents returned to the house they were greeted and hugged by the family who were happy that the baby was now safer from illness and could now be handled by more than the immediate family. They also declared that she had cried every night because she was not baptized, and they were expecting that she would now sleep at night. The baby wore a red band on her right wrist until the baptism, but when the godparents brought her home from the church, the family took it off. The red band serves as a protection, as well as a sign to others not to fondle the unbaptized baby.

As soon as the godparents came back from the church, they went to the park where Miller, the grandfather, and several other men were busy barbecuing meat. As the godfather drove up to the park, he was told to hoot his horn, to make a lot of noise, and throw candy to the children running alongside the car. Catching the candy is good luck, but if it falls to the ground first, the luck is lost. Then everyone sat down to eat and drink beer, accompanied by loud pop music. Because all the men had driven their cars into the park there was the usual trouble with the park officials who

also reminded the party that beer was not allowed. Eventually the officials were talked out of towing away the cars and joined the party.

When most had eaten, a Mačwano named George presented a new set of clothes to both the godparents and gave a speech in which he announced that the child was being adopted by its grandparents. George then carefully held up each piece of clothing as he talked about it. A silver lamé coat with matching dress was given to the godmother. A shirt, tie, jacket, and trousers were given to the godfather. Then he gave the underwear in brown paper to each godparent, apologizing for having to name these items, although he only called them socks. At the end of the speech he said, "when they wear these clothes may they have lots of luck and health."

The Slava

The *slava* is a ritual feast celebrated on a saint's day, usually according to the Greek Orthodox calendar.¹³ Its celebration brings good luck and good health to those who arrange the feast, as well as to the person for whom it is given. In many cases the *slava* is given as a direct result of a promise to a saint for curing a person who is in grave danger of death. Thus, over many generations, some *slave* become traditional for a particular *vitsa* or *natsia*.

Common Slava	Date	Main Dish
St. John's Day (<i>Sweto Yowano</i>)	27 January	pig
St. George's Day (<i>Giorgidan</i>)	6 May	lamb
St. Anne's Day (<i>Sant'Ana</i>)	26 July	lamb
St. Nicholas' Day (<i>Sweto Nikola</i>)	6 December	fish
St. Mary's Day (<i>Simpte Maria</i>)	28 August	lamb
Easter (<i>Patragi</i>)	Easter Sunday	lamb

Each *slava* features a particular meat. Food for a *slava* must be prepared with strict standards of cleanliness. Excess is highly valued. George Marino's *slava* table on the 6th of May was reputed to have been 200 feet long and 60 feet wide. Preparation of the food takes place during a private gathering of the family giving the *slava* on the night before; this gathering is called *večera* 'eve' by the Mačwaya and *tšinašara* by the Kalderaš.

St. Mary's Slava in Richmond, 28 August 1970

St. Mary's *slava* is the main *slava* given by the Kaštare *vitsa* in Richmond to bring good luck and good health to family members. Because of a spate of illnesses and bad luck, the St. Mary's *slava* on August 28, 1970 was a particularly important one. The four sons of Staley Costello, the family's patriarch, contributed to the *slava* and prepared the food over several weeks. First, they bought boxes of tomatoes, cabbage, cucumbers, and celery in San Jose, and then they went to Santa Rosa and bought four lambs. The women prepared *sarme*, *pirogo*, and *saviako* (see recipes). Each lamb was roasted by one of the four men giving the *slava* and put in the middle of the table. There were also four big beeswax candles on the table, and the head of the lamb was placed next to the candle. Each candle was arranged in the middle of a vase of flowers. There were also pictures of St. Mary on the table, and a big birthday cake decorated with the words "Happy Birthday Saint Mary" on the top. A statue of Mary was on the table. It had been specially dressed in clothes made by Annie, Staley's daughter-in-law. Rosie, another daughter-in-law of Staley, explained about the *slava*.

The most important thing about the *slava* is the lamb. Everyone eats at the table. Anyone can come and eat, but no one touches the head of the lamb. Then after the *slava* we take it home, and Steve [her husband] will eat the head. Each of the four men giving the *slava* takes home one head and eats it tomorrow. It is like strength. We believe in that. The next important thing is the whiskey. A bottle of whiskey is placed on the table with the food, but again no one drinks out of it. The third important thing is the candles in the middle of the table. The candles burn from sun up to sun down on the day of the *slava*. If you cannot afford a big *slava*, you just have the candles and serve coffee and have the whiskey on the table. You also pray to St. Mary. But if you can have a big do, it gives you more value because you have given more. You have made a big feast in honor of St. Mary.

The *slava* ritual covers three days. The first day, the food is prepared. The day of the *slava* is the big feast, and the day after, the head is eaten by the immediate family. Before eating at the *slava* table, incense is passed around the table. The table is covered with food: dishes of meat with bread rolls on top, plates of fruit salad, vegetable salads, cold butter bean stew, cold rabbit stew, *sarme*, *pirogo*, potato salad, the birthday cake, celery and green onions on the table. Kegs of beer were kept at one end of the table.

About 500 people came to the *slava* although only about half could sit down. The older men and women sat down, and young people were given food from the table to eat on the side. The hosts did not sit down, but spent their time serving people. A band had been hired so there was music the whole time, and people danced off to one side.

The *slava* was also a big match-making occasion. A lot of elaborately dressed marriageable boys and girls were there. I witnessed three marriages being arranged by the parents at one end of the hall while the young people took turns dancing at the other end. Also, a number of babies had been baptized before the *slava*.

Politically the *slava* was a big success for Staley because a lot of important Rom from all over California came to it. One even brought him a bottle of whiskey. Staley remarked, "My father always gave this *slava*, my wife and I will always give it, and our sons will now give a *slava* to St. Mary, and it will go on for generation to generation."

Death and the Pomana

Illness is greatly feared because it is a sign that something has gone wrong in a person's life and he must be suffering from *prikaza*. Illness is a constant preoccupation of the Rom and an ever-present topic of conversation. Any serious illness necessitates the gathering of a large number of relatives at the bedside, much to the dismay of doctors and hospital staff. Death at a premature age, like illness, is *prikaza*; it is avoidable and tragic. Relatives say that they "feel" this death more than the death of an old person. When Marko died unexpectedly at a young age, his mother was so grief-stricken that she also died a few months later. According to Marquis Jones, a funeral director in San Francisco, Marko's mother rose up in her coffin and called, "Marko, Marko." Amazed, the next day he asked the mourners who Marko was. They then knew that she was looking for her son and that they are together now.

Unlike a premature death, death at an old age is viewed as part of the natural and acceptable course of events, and the attitudes and feelings toward the death of an old person are very different.¹⁴ The main preoccupation of the relatives of an old person, as well as the person himself, is to see that all preparations for his eventual demise have been arranged. For the European Lowara, Yoors (1967: 237) put it that "the Rom yearned for what they called 'a great death' for which they could prepare and which they could share with their households, relatives and friends. They feared most that kind of death which came when one was unprepared."

It is the duty of loving children to help their parents arrange their coffin, funeral service, and grave plot, before their death. These problems are carefully discussed and provided for in each family. There is no attempt to avoid the subject of death; rather, the details are worked out so that the aged person knows exactly how his death will be taken care of. Although it is considered natural, the death of an old person still involves the gathering of virtually his whole *vitsa*, which could mean anything from fifty to several hundred families.

The funeral itself is only the beginning of the obligations that relatives have towards the deceased. They are then involved in a year-long series of memorial feasts (*pomeni*) that finally bring the spirit of the deceased (*mulo*) to rest. Immediately after death, close relatives observe a mourning period in which they are in a state of pollution. They cannot shave, wash, bathe, change clothes, comb their hair, wear jewelry, listen to music, dance, or eat *baXt* foods. Women wear black which at other times would be *prikaza* to wear. Three days after death, the body is buried, most of the mourning restrictions are lifted, and a *pomana* is held at nine days, six weeks, six months, and one year after death.¹⁵ There is a certain amount of leeway in the holding of *pomana* feasts. Some may omit the six-month *pomana*, but some hold a *pomana* every year after the death of a beloved at the grave site. Occasionally non-gypsies get very upset at the sight of a group of "noisy" Gypsies holding a huge feast with alcoholic beverages in a cemetery. Consequently, the Rom always go back to the same funeral parlors, such as Marquis Jones', and cemeteries where they are known and have sorted out these problems with the administrators.

From death until the three-day *pomana* the funeral parlor is filled with Rom pouring in to pay their respects. I have known of as many as six thousand Gypsies at a single funeral. The first obligation of the relatives and visitors is to visit the coffin and view the deceased for the last time. Each visitor puts a small amount of money in the coffin. Grief is freely expressed, particularly by the women, who may wail, beat their breasts, and tear at their hair. Others simply sit around the room and drink whiskey or coffee. Everyone talks about the dead person.

The funeral parlor will be filled with flowers sent by relatives and friends. The body itself is also handled by relatives. At Marko's funeral they put beeswax in his ears and nose so that he could not hear the wailing. Pearls may also be used. They also put several mangoes in the coffin because he liked to eat them so much when he lived in Hawaii. Sometimes a favorite fishing pole goes into the coffin. Money, of course, is always necessary wherever you go, so dollar bills are usually folded lengthwise and placed between the fingers. Some money is buried with the body, but money is also collected to help pay for the feast and to provide food for all the incoming relatives.

The Causes of Illness

Illnesses and cures involve more than simple physiological functions; they represent a whole way of life that cannot be divorced from the social context. Illness is an extension of people's ideas about life and death, about their relationships with other people and with the world of spirits. Health and illness are also part of more mundane concerns such as cleanliness, food, washing, dress, and so forth. The Rom see health and illness as two ends of a continuum. Death, in the final analysis, cannot

be avoided, and since it is a crucial state in a person's lifetime, it must be prepared for. The best death is a prepared one; sudden death is feared and horrifying.

For the Rom, illness and death are points of social crisis as well as personal crisis. There has been much written about the way the Rom handle a serious illness or death. Reporters, doctors, hospital staff, social workers, and police have all been aware of a great happening when a Rom becomes seriously ill. When they ask what is going on, they always get the same answer, "A Gypsy king (queen, prince, etc.) has died." This reply is a way of satisfying reporters and providing a reasonable explanation to panicky hospital staff and worried police about why the Rom are flocking into town in large numbers, camping on hospital grounds, and in general breaking every rule and creating havoc. Each death is a major crisis in a Rom family that must be dealt with in ritual.

In order to understand remedies for illness, it is necessary to classify them according to the causes of illness. The Rom make a distinction between illnesses that originate from the non-gypsies and illnesses that are exclusively part of their own world. The former can be cured by non-gypsy doctors, but the latter can only be tackled by the *drabarnia*, their own medical practitioners. Medical knowledge among the Rom is the prerogative almost exclusively of the oldest women. They are both respected and feared because of this knowledge.

American doctors are *gaže* who have a special knowledge of illnesses and cures just as the *drabarnia* have special medical knowledge. The Rom do not have a scientific understanding of how the body functions. To them American doctors simply have a store of lore on medicines and curing techniques (including tests). Not all doctors have the same knowledge or ability. A good doctor is one who cures you, and a bad doctor is one whose medicine does not work. Once a Rom has died in the hands of a doctor, other Rom do not return to him for medical care.

Hospitals are seen as places to die or at least to be cut up. Most Rom will only go to a hospital if they are in serious danger of death; therefore, they do die there in most cases. Furthermore, a hospital is a hostile place for the Rom, full of non-gypsies and completely removed from Rom society. Too few visitors are allowed, so for the Rom, who wants to be with his kin when he is ill, a hospital is very close to a state of exile from his own society. For these reasons, many Rom suffer great pain and die rather than go to a hospital.

Illnesses can be divided into two groups, Rom diseases and *gaže* diseases. The diseases of the two groups overlap but their causes are different. Most Rom must try several kinds of cures for any single illness in order to combat the different causes. A person who has convulsions, for example, may be rushed to the hospital where a doctor can attend him, but he will also be given *khandino drab* by his relative.

Kinds of Diseases

Disease	Cause	Cure
<i>gaže</i> diseases	germs	<i>gaže</i> doctors (surgery)
flu, "fevers," gonorrhea, syphilis, hernias, hemorrhoids, etc.	<i>marime</i> from contact with <i>gaže</i> ; living in houses	avoid <i>gaže</i> ; travel
<i>Rom</i> diseases	spirits and behavior	<i>drabarni</i> (Gypsy doctor)
mental illness; mental retardation	denial of <i>romania</i>	observe <i>romania</i> (e.g. marriage)
grave illness, such as polio, serious influenza, pneumonia, cholera	<i>mamioro</i>	<i>čoxai</i>
<i>toska</i> (nerves); convulsions	<i>o beng</i>	<i>khandino drab</i> "devil's dung"
general ill health and bad luck (<i>prikaza</i>)	<i>mule</i>	prevented by showing respect to the dead; observing <i>pomana</i> ; avoiding places <i>mule</i> may visit

All disease is divided into two kinds: *gaže* diseases and *Rom* diseases. For the *Rom* the germ theory of disease is perfectly acceptable, but it does not account for all illnesses, any more than it does for non-gypsies. *Gaže* diseases are contracted from germs and from the pollution of contact with *gaže* who carry germs. Public places, public toilets, and houses where *gaže* have lived or live, are all places where disease from the *gaže* may be picked up. The most feared *gaže* diseases are venereal diseases, partly because they are also associated with *prikaza* and *marime* sexual relations with *gaže*.

All the Rom that I talked with claimed that they are sicker now than used to be, and they explained this as a result of traveling less and living in houses formerly occupied by *gaže* instead of separately in camps. They felt that the closer contact with *gaže* was having a deleterious effect on their health. Of course, it may be true that contact with *gaže* means that they pick up illnesses such as flu and venereal diseases that are not current among the Rom, but it is also true that the Rom have never been isolated from the rest of the population.

I could not verify whether there has been a recent increase in the amount of illness among the Rom. However, recent work on the medical condition of the Rom would indicate that their medical problems are in fact very serious, especially heart disease, diabetes and hypertension (Thomas 1988). Thomas has suggested that a combination of an extremely fattening diet and genetics is leading to high cholesterol levels and hypertension. There is no doubt that certain chronic problems that the Rom face, such as obesity, heart disease, and diabetes are related to their high-carbohydrate, high-fat diet.

One of the ways that the Rom tackle diseases caused by "living in houses" is to travel. Many people would take a trip the minute they felt ill because it made them feel better. One old lady who was too ill to travel used to sit in the car when she felt low, and this cheered her up. Travel is not only associated with health because it is considered one way to avoid *gaže* germs, but it is also felt to be effective as a way of outrunning any "bad luck" which may be causing the illness. *Prikaza* also causes illness, and any illness is a sign that a person is suffering from *prikaza*.

To combat *gaže* diseases, the Rom, logically, turn to *gaže* doctors and hospitals. However, all contact with doctors and hospitals is an uneasy one since doctors themselves are germ harborers, and hospitals are feared as places of disease, germs and death. Although they are anxious to try any cure that they think might work, they are suspicious of doctors and tend to shop around. A doctor who acquires the reputation of being effective for them will find Rom patients flocking to him, and the doctor whose Rom patient dies under his care will probably never see another one in his office.

Surgery is even more feared since it involves cutting the person (something the Rom themselves never do), especially when a total anesthesia is required. The Rom believe that a person under anesthesia undergoes a "little death," and they gather around the bedside to muster support and help the stricken one to come out of the coma. I have known one *romni* suffer years of pain from an acute hernia because she refused to undergo the operation necessary to repair the damage. Several Rom in California have died after leaving the hospital prematurely.

In spite of their fear of hospitals, the Rom are in general extremely knowledgeable of hospital procedure. They know what services are available, where, and who the best doctors for specific problems are. They learn of famous clinics, learn

the complicated hospital regulations, how to avoid them, and how to get what they want. Thus for a non-literate and generally disadvantaged ethnic group, they manage to obtain relatively good short term medical care because of their knowledge of the system (Salloway 1973; Thomas 1985). In the same way that they are willing to try American doctors and hospitals to cure them, they will also try cures and medicines advertised by Mexican *curanderos*, faith healers, and patented miracle cures. These are all *gaže* remedies, and nothing that might work is to be scorned.

Rom diseases have no connection with *gaže* or with germs and therefore cannot be cured by *gaže* doctors. For these diseases the Rom must turn to their own knowledge and their own medical practitioners, the aged *romnia* or *drabarnia* ('women who have knowledge of medicines') who are the guardians of this knowledge. The knowledge of spirits (*mamioro*, *mule*, *o beng*) and of medicines that old women have is a great source of power for them. All old women know something of medicines, though some know more than others.

Mamioro and the Devil

Serious Rom diseases are caused by either a spirit called *mamioro* (Gjerdman and Ljungberg *mamiorŭ*, *mamiorŭ* /mamioyŭ/) or the devil (*o beng*). Both *mamioro* and the devil represent evil forces which are *prikaza*, though not necessarily *marime*. Although both can cause serious illnesses that may result in death, they are very different in nature, not least because one is female and the other male.

The devil is a supernatural force of evil. One woman described the devil and God as "brothers, one evil and the other good, and they are always fighting." The Rom in California had a very definite visual picture of the devil complete with horns, hooves and pitchfork. The devil causes illness by possessing a person, and the cure is to drive the devil out of the person's body.

Mamioro is a specific spirit who has become a disease carrier. *Mamioro*, which means "little grandmother," was once a real person who died.¹⁶ *Mamioro* causes illness simply by visiting the homes of Rom, but she only visits them when they are filthy, so by keeping a clean house, the Rom can keep her away. Šrecha explained *mamioro*:

Mamioro, when she visits you, you get sick. She brings it to your house. She is sickness. She visits houses that are dirty (*melalo*). She comes to dirty houses, and if there are dirty dishes there, she eats off of dirty dishes. *Mamioro* visits garbage dumps. She vomits in garbage dumps because when she sees the garbage she feels sick and vomits. She can vomit anywhere too. She eats people and then vomits them. But what makes her sick makes you well. Her vomit is *čoxai*. Finding *čoxai* is like finding treasure. Gypsies will pay a hundred dollars for it.

Čoxai, which means female ghost or witch was translated by Šrecha as “ghost’s vomit.” *Čoxai* is found most frequently in garbage dumps, and it is the most powerful and valuable cure the Rom have. *Čoxai* was described as a slimy yellow substance with red streaks in it. The streaks are the blood of *gaže* that Mamioro ate and regurgitated.

Rena Gropper discovered ghost vomit on some wood chips in her garden in New York. She took the specimen to Thomas H. Delendick, associate taxonomist at the Brooklyn Botanic Garden who identified it as a slime mold, *Fuligo septica*. Delendick added that a literature search showed that heretofore there had been no known economic or folklore uses of the species. According to Gropper, “It truly looks like vomit, being pinkish with white on top” (personal correspondence, 23 July 1983).

Čoxai cures fear from ghosts, hemorrhages, influenza, pneumonia, cholera and epileptic convulsions. It is the most important medicine for any *drabarni* to carry in her medicine bag (*bužo*). When *čoxai* was discovered in a garbage dump near Richmond, the Rom became very excited. Old women from all over California came into town to get a piece for their medicine bags. When *čoxai* is discovered, it is carefully collected, so that none is left behind, by scooping it from the ground. Then it is mixed with flour and baked until it becomes a hard white rock from which small pieces can be chipped off for distribution and use. These pieces are put on the tongue of a baby to inoculate him from fear of ghosts. A piece is also given to any person who becomes seriously ill. *Čoxai* is also included in an amulet bag for children.

Šrecha, the most powerful and effective *drabarni* in Richmond, kept her *bužo* in the glove compartment of her car. It contained a piece of *čoxai*; *dramego*, a special herb; *was balvalesko*, a fungus called “the spoon” (39); garlic; black pepper; gold coins; and pieces of apron from her ancestresses. She often made an amulet bag for children using *čoxai*, garlic, black pepper and a coin or a picture of a saint sewn into one of the pieces of apron (44). Šrecha was an effective healer, not only because of her knowledge of the spirits and medicines, but also because she has received special exemption from disease.

My great-great-great grandmother was in a camp, and *mamioro* came to her, but she was not afraid. She carried her around on her shoulders and bathed her until she was clean. She took care of *mamioro*. And that is why my people don't get big illnesses—my whole *vitsa*—because my great grandmother did this, and *mamioro* said, “your family will not have sickness.”

Devil's Dung

Several important diseases are caused by the devil. *Toska* (Russ. 'melancholy')(42) is a disease which the Rom translate as "nerves." People who are nervous, fidgety, and worry excessively, have *toska*. A lot of Rom get *toska*, especially the less aggressive and more sensitive ones who find it hard to keep up with the demanding, noisy, fast pace of Rom conversation and social life. *Khandino drab* will cure *toska*.

Khandino drab (literally "bad smelling medicine") which the Rom translate as "devil's dung" can be purchased only in certain pharmacies. Reputedly, East Oakland is the easiest place in the Bay area to find it.

One day a group of women told me there was a pharmacy in East Oakland where I could get devil's dung. Though I was wary of being tricked, my curiosity got the best of me, and I agreed to go ask for some. We drove over in uncharacteristic silence. I began to get *toska*. When we arrived, the women waited while I was sent into a pharmacy that apparently sold many kinds of herbal remedies as well as aspirin and laxatives. "Do you have any devil's dung?" I asked the man behind the counter in a very small voice. "Sure thing, lady. How much do you want?" he replied, pulling down a jar of small, black turd-like lumps. "Two dollars worth OK?" Relieved, I took my small plastic bag to the door where it was whipped out of my hands never to be seen again. Devil's dung is a common name for *asafoetida* (Lust 1974), which has a long association with healing and spiritualism in India and was until recently used in Western medicine as an antispasmodic, expectorant, and laxative, among other uses (Duke 1985).

Devil's dung is said to be found near the place where a person has been seized with a convulsion. Convulsions occur when a person is possessed by the devil. Usually the devil defecates during the convulsion. If you can locate the *khandino drab* and give it to the convulsed person, it will make the devil *marime* and drive him away, because he cannot tolerate this pollution. Persa described finding devil's dung after her son had a seizure:

One time Joe was sleeping in the car, and when he woke up he had a fit. We rushed him to the hospital. Then when I went back to the car and lifted up the seat, I found it there. It is a little black thing like a piece of charcoal. So I rushed back to the hospital and gave it to him to eat, and he didn't have the fit any more. I gave it to him and he got up. Boy, that nurse was surprised.

Šrecha said that if a child had convulsions, it is the devil taking control of him. If the eyes are open, they should be forcibly shut. The mother should immediately search around on the floor for two pieces of charcoal. These should be fed to the child while chanting "*O Del tusa*" (God be with you). If you cannot find the charcoal, then knot a piece of thread and place it in a glass of water. If it sinks,

the child will recover. If it floats, give the child a few drops of its own urine. This won't fail to pollute the devil and drive him away (19). Rattlesnake Pete and Ruša, on hearing this, added that sometimes just making an "X" with the charcoal on the forehead of the child will be enough to stop the convulsion.

Mule

Illness can also be caused by *mule* who plague people, bringing bad luck and misfortune. When a person dies, his spirit wanders around for awhile. Most *mule* are harmless, but some occasionally bear grudges and persecute people. I never met a Rom who did not believe in *mule* and had not had an encounter with one at some time. When asked what they look like, the reply was, "like themselves, only fuzzy, or smoky in the face." *Mule* may appear in a vision or in a dream, or you may only see their movements or actions.

Stories of encounters with *mule* are common. Two told in Richmond follow.

An old Gypsy died in Fresno twenty, thirty years ago. He owned a trailer. He also had a leather horse whip. On the day of his funeral, when everyone was at the mortuary, two thieves came and tried to steal the wheels of his trailer. An old man jumped out of the bushes with a whip and beat them almost to death. When they were in the hospital, they told the police about it. They sent for the Gypsies. When the Gypsies heard the description, they knew it was their grandfather. They showed a picture of him, and the victims positively identified him as the man who had beaten them. When they heard he had been dead for two days, they went crazy, and died soon after.

There was a Gypsy caravan, 30-40 years ago, a covered one. A man saw a baby crying under the wheels of the wagon. He went in and scolded his daughter-in-law for letting the baby get out of the wagon. She said, "That's not my baby, my baby's right here." That night, when the man was sleeping, he felt a weight on his chest, then a terrible pain in his stomach. He knew the *čoxano* [ghost] was inside him. They called for an old woman. She cut off a piece of her hair, a long piece. She tied it in a loose knot in front of his mouth. When the *čoxano* jumped out, she tightened the knot and killed the *čoxano*.

Staley said that for six months after his father died, he saw him every night in his dream. Every morning for 18 years, before he took his coffee, he would say, "I drink this coffee in honor of my father." His father no longer came in the dream very often, but when he did, Staley gave him breakfast.

Showing proper respect for the old and the dead is the best way of ensuring that the person's spirit will not carry a grudge to the grave and plague his relatives.

Even before a person dies, his good deeds and accomplishments begin to be retold, sometimes with great exaggeration. As he nears death, he becomes larger in size, has fathered more children, and is said to have shown great generosity. Even infamous and hated men are not spoken of badly once they are dead. A Rom who suspects that someone recently deceased holds a grudge against him will try to avoid places that person frequented, and will be sure to attend a *pomana* feast to pay his last respects.

Remedies, Prophylactic Medicine, and Recipes

Remedies

1. *Appendix*. Drink castor oil to clean it out.
2. *Asthma*. Smell and inhale a burning honeycomb.
3. *Athlete's foot*. Mix melted camphor ice and pork fat and apply to the feet after they have been bathed in hot water.
4. *Baldness*. Make a paste of 1/2 lb. of pork lard and 1/2 cup of kerosene (paraffin oil) and apply to bald areas.
5. *Hemorrhage*. *Mamioro* causes serious hemorrhage which can be cured with *čoxai*.
6. *Bleeding*. To stop a cut from bleeding and prevent infection, spit on fresh tobacco, place it on the cut, and tie up with a piece of clean cloth. For a cut foot, soak it in kerosene and the bleeding will stop.
7. *High Blood Pressure*. (a) Eat lots of garlic and vinegar to reduce high blood pressure. (b) Apply leeches. (c) Slice a piece of cactus leaf and put on the head.
8. *Blisters or Corns*. Mix melted camphor ice with pork fat and apply to the feet. This helps sore feet and blisters.
9. *Boils or growths (mitsina) on the skin*. (a) Apply cow dung (*gožni*). (b) Another method is to use laundry soap (the yellow greasy cake type) which has been heated. This, applied to the boil, opens it up and draws out the pus. (c) A third method is to take the second skin of an onion and put a silver dollar size piece of yellow cake laundry soap which has been heated into the onion skin. Place all this on the boil.

10. *Burns.* (a) Cook an egg yolk in flour until brown. Add vaseline to this mixture and make a salve. Put this on the burned area and no scars will form. (b) Another method is to burn flour in a clean skillet with no grease. Add vaseline to this and put on burned area.

11. *Childbirth.* Two or three women should walk the pregnant woman up and down a lot. After this she should stand over a tub and hold onto a [tent] pole. First put the tub over water and get her to jump over it. This helps to bring on the baby. Then she should hold onto the tent pole and press. A midwife should put her knee in the woman's back and press too. Then the baby comes down. Take the baby, tie its cord and cut it with scissors. Then take a milk bottle and have the mother blow into the milk bottle and the afterbirth comes out. You bury the afterbirth in a secret place. To ease childbirth pains, the midwife should touch the mother on the shoulder three times with a head scarf (*diklo*) or with spittle. A resurrection plant should be put into water at the moment of birth. As the resurrection plant opens, so too will the womb open more easily. Immediately after birth, the mother should wash herself and the child to remove polluted substances. Only after washing can any other women come near her. The mother should stay in bed for three days and in confinement for ten days. Six weeks used to be the usual confinement period but now ten days is enough.

12. *Confinement after birth.* Give the mother wine after birth to "put the blood back into her." After birth, a nursing mother should not eat any green foods, no green vegetables or peppers, or the baby will get colic. Avoid green vegetables for six weeks. Tomatoes also cause cramps in a new mother. The mother should not cook, prepare food or wash anything during confinement. She must be kept away from men.

Hospital births remove a great amount of the polluting substances of birth, and many young women feel that if they give birth in hospital it is not necessary for them to remain in confinement longer than ten days, when the bleeding stops). Older women do not necessarily agree, however.

13. *Cold or flu.* (a) Chop onions (a big yellow one is best) up with sugar, let it sit for 4-5 hours. Give the juice that comes out to the afflicted person. (b) Brown sugar heated up in a pan is also good to give to children for a cold. (c) Add the juice of 2-3 oranges and 2-3 lemons to water and sugar and boil. Drink this 3-4 times a day. (d) Mash one clove of garlic in whiskey and drink.

14. *Chest cold.* Prepare a hot lemonade, adding burnt sugar, whiskey and hot peppers.

15. *Cuts.* Blowing on cuts helps them to heal. If there is bleeding, spit on clean tobacco, place on cut, and tie onto it with a clean cloth. The bleeding will then stop, and no infection will take place.

16. *Death spirit.* Death is caused by a man; illness by a woman. (a) Death enters through an open window. Women can scare him off by cursing death and threatening to throw their skirts over his head. (b) Another way to drive away the death spirit is to burn a stick and snuff out the flame and use the smoking stick to chase him away.

17. *After death.* On the third day after death, leave open the window of the room where the person died. Place a full glass of water under the bed. The dead spirit, in the form of a little black bird, will come in and drink the water.

The dead speak to you in dreams and give you directions that you must obey.

18. *Earache.* (a) Collect a stinkhorn mushroom which the Gypsies call *buriatza khandini* ('stinking mushroom') or grandmother's ear of the forest. Place the mushroom in a small bottle of olive or corn oil and use a small amount each time in the ear. (b) Another method of preparation is to add a small amount of sal ammoniac, a dash of whiskey and camphor oil to the stinkhorn in the oil. Let this mixture set for several days until it turns black and the mushroom dissolves. Warm it up and pour in the ear.

19. *Convulsions, particularly epileptic fits, especially in a child.* If a child has convulsions, it is the devil (*o beng*) taking control of him.

(a) If the eyes are open, they should be shut. Search on the floor for two pieces of charcoal called *khandino drab*, devil's dung, in the place where the convulsion took place. These pieces of charcoal should be fed to the child while chanting "*O Del tusa*" (God be with you). The convulsions should stop. If the charcoal is not found, then knot a piece of thread and place it in a glass of water. If it sinks, the child will recover. If it floats, do the following: Give the child a few drops of its own urine. This will not fail, since it is actually the Devil's urine and he cannot tolerate this.

(b) *Coxai* was also mentioned as a cure for convulsions. It may be that if a convulsion is caused by *mamioro* rather than the devil, the cure would be *coxai*.

(c) To stop the shakes, gather reeds such as the creeping pillwort from water and use them to beat the inflicted person all over. It was explained that since reeds shake in water, when they stop, the shakes will stop.

20. *Evil eye (yakhalo)*. Evil eye is caused by the look of a person (mainly *gaže* whose eyebrows grow together across the forehead). Long eyelashes may also indicate a person who might give the evil eye. To counteract, have the giver make a line on the baby's forehead with his finger bathed in his own spittle.

21. *Fever*. (a) To reduce fever, sew a dried rattlesnake skin and the rattles into a piece of cloth and wear around the neck with a religious medal pinned to it. (b) If the person has not been baptized, omit the medal. (c) For the unbaptized, a charm of garlic, incense, and snakeskin will be more effective.

20. *Headache, mild*. (a) Slice cold cooked potato and wrap the slices around the head with a bandanna. (b) The same process done with tea leaves works as well.

23. *Headache, serious headache and migraine*. (a) Get the best new potato you can find with no bad marks on it. Squash it up to get the starchy juices out of it (garlic may be added to this juice). Soak a cloth in this juice and put a little vinegar on it. Place the towel on the head. (b) Some Rom simply use vinegar on a cloth tied around the head.

24. *Bump on the head*. With the flat side of a knife, make a cross on the forehead.

25. *Heart trouble*. Cured by *stradniki*, or nine brothers' blood, a root which has red stripes (like blood) in it. You have to dig it out of the ground. It is a very dry limb.

It is very difficult to find, and I was unable to identify it.

26. *Hoarse throat*. Eat a raw egg yolk.

27. *Eye infection*. (a) Place a tea bag dipped in hot water on infected eye. (b) Wash infected eye with water in which roses have been soaking for a week. (c) Daisies soaked in water also make a good eye wash.

28. *Infection of baby's navel*. Ashes rubbed into the navel protect and clean it. The ashes should come from a burned cloth. Rub these ashes on the newly cut navel for three days, and the stump of the umbilical cord will fall off.

29. *Itching*. Make a paste of pork lard and sulphur and apply to itching areas.

30. *Lumbago*. Prepare the following mixture: 1 1/2 tablespoons of winter-green oil, 3 tablespoons of olive oil, and 1 cup vinegar. Shake well and rub into the skin.

31. *Mastoids*. Make a paste of flax seeds and a little black mud (optional). Smear on infection. The next application should be a blend of onions and naphtha soap. When infection starts to form a head, apply bread that has been soaked in milk. Final application should be one-day-old cow manure. When infection breaks, wash with hot salt water.

32. *Black Plague*. Caused by *mamioro* and cured by *čoxai*.

33. *Poison Oak*. Apply canned milk to inflicted areas.

34. *Polio*. Caused by *mamioro* and cured by *čoxai*.

35. *Diaper rash*. Pork grease applied to the area of the rash will soothe and heal it.

36. *Mouth rash or blisters on babies*. Rub molasses on the lips until blood is drawn.

37. *Rheumatism*. There are several cures for rheumatism. If one does not give relief, try another. (a) To prevent rheumatism wear an amber necklace. (b) Rub kerosene onto painful areas. (c) Boil cow's gristle (*koi*) to get the grease out. Melt some camphor oil and add this grease and some kerosene. You must first let the kerosene sit out a bit until it becomes sticky. Get some bandages and put the hot mixture on them and wrap your body in it. When Baka did this her body broke out in boils and these burst, but she could walk again.

(d) Mix vinegar, garlic, and kerosene together and rub it on your skin.

38. *Stomach trouble, wind and constipation*. Various cures for stomach upset are suggested. Try the one that seems most appealing or works best. (a) Make a tea of spearmint (*Mentha viridis*) and drink hot or cold. (b) Eat the mushroom (*buriatza*) called savory pleurotus for constipation. (c) Boil the common nettle which the Rom call *tsinida* into a tea and drink for stomach complaints. The nettle is also used as a vegetable.

39. *Stroke*. The Rom call this *balvali* or "crooked face." It is caused by seeing winds, in particular whirlwinds or "devil dusters." The cure for this affliction is the

was *balvalesko* (lit. 'arm of the whirlwinds') called "the spoon." *Was balvalesko* is the tinder fungus (*Fomes fomentarius*). It is best if found growing with a little handle. It is rare and only a few old ladies possess one. Drinking water from the "spoon" for six weeks will cure a stroke.

For a baby, place the "spoon" in a bowl of water and let the baby drink from it for nine Fridays and he will return to normal.

40. *Warts (pumia)*. Gather a mushroom called *Myriostoma coliforme*, the saltshaker earthstar. When this mushroom is dry, shake out the spores and mix with vaseline and apply to the wart. This cures warts particularly, but is also used for boils.

41. *Whooping cough*. (a) Eat the eggs and meat of a turtle. Also, turtle soup is good for whooping cough. (b) Another method is to drink donkey's milk.

42. *Worms*. To rid a child of worms, have him eat lots of garlic. Give a child garlic once a year to prevent his getting worms. Garlic soup is particularly good for this.

43. *Worry (toska) also called "nerves"*. This is a very common disease among the Rom, particularly women. It is caused by the devil; *khandino drab* is the best cure for this problem.

Prophylactic Medicines

44. *Amulets (drab)*. The usual amulet is a small bag (*bužo*) made from a piece of an ancestress' apron (*katrinsa*) containing a piece of *čoxai*, garlic and a gold coin. Sometimes black pepper or *stradniki* (nine brothers' blood) is included. Unbaptized children are particularly vulnerable to a variety of dangers (e.g. *martiya*, fevers, crying) and require amulets to protect them. For amulets specifically designed to prevent fear see 48 or, for fever, see 21.

45. *Arthritis*. Wear copper necklaces or bracelet at all times to prevent pain from arthritis. Brass will also be effective, though less so.

46. *Colic (in a baby)*. To prevent colic a nursing mother should avoid green vegetables or green peppers.

47. *Wrinkles on the face*. (a) Apply sweet cream to face daily to prevent wrinkles. (b) Pork lard is also effective

48. *Fear.* (a) Sew a piece of fern (*nevala*) into your clothes to prevent fear. (b) *Čoxai* is the best preventive of fear. Place a small piece on the child's tongue. (c) For children's night-time fears, make a *buzo* (bag) of incense, garlic and *čoxai* by sewing these into a piece of cloth. Sew a cross on the outside and let the child wear it at all times.

49. *Good luck (baXt) foods that promote health.* Garlic and hot pepper added to food will guard against illness and food poisoning. Salt, vinegar and onions are also good for the health. Celery promotes virility in men.

50. *Foods to avoid.* A nursing mother should avoid green vegetables after birth or the baby will get colic. Tomatoes may cause cramps in a new mother.

51. *Hair.* (a) To keep in good condition and restore shine, use pork lard on the hair. (b) To make hair grow faster, wash it in the water of boiled potato skins.

52. *Healthy hair.* In general to promote healthy hair apply pork lard.

53. *Good luck (baXt).* (1) A fern (*nevala*) in the house, especially at holidays such as Christmas and Easter. (2) Clean house and clothes (wards off *mamioro*). (3) Wearing gold draws out bodily poisons. When gold goes black it is the poison from your body coming out. But gold is a general cure and insurance for good health. Wearing gold promotes good health. (4) A good luck charm: remove a worm from a dead frog, wash it, pour wax on it and affix it to a coin. This, carried in the hem of a woman's skirt, is a good luck charm. The amount of luck is in direct proportion to the value of coin. A gold coin will bring exceptionally good fortune. A silver dollar will bring middling good luck and a dime is better than nothing. (5) Red. (6) The resurrection plant (genus *Selaginella*), also called St. Mary's Hand. (7) Pictures of saints, religious medals, holy water and icons.

54. *Measles.* The cause is unknown, but it is necessary to do certain things to prevent the disease going inside the child and causing worse sickness or death. Tie a red cloth around the child's wrist. Do not cook, sew, comb your hair or use bad language. Keep the house clean. Then the spots will stay on the outside and will eventually go away.

55. *Rheumatism.* Wear an amber necklace to prevent rheumatism.

56. *Tonsillitis (guša).* Avoid touching the neck with the hands, to prevent inflammation, but if this occurs inadvertently, blow on the hands.

57. *Worms.* To prevent, eat several cloves of garlic once a year.

Recipes

BaXi foods. Eating these foods will bring good luck: black pepper, red pepper, salt, vinegar, garlic, and onions. Celery also promotes virility.

1. *Sarme*

1 large cabbage	celery
1 1/2 lbs. lard	black pepper
1/2 quart vinegar	red pepper
pork meat	jalapeño peppers
rice	3 cans tomato paste
bell peppers	1 can tomatoes
onions	water
parsley	

Take a large cabbage head, cut out the heart and put it in water, 1/2 lb. lard and 1/2 quart vinegar and cook until done. Save the liquid but remove the cabbage. Put 1 lb. of lard into a skillet and add pork meat cut up small and rice. When slightly brown add bell peppers, onions, parsley, celery, black and red pepper, and jalapeños. Then add 1 can tomato paste. Cook this with water until half done. Remove and roll in cabbage leaves (each leaf around a handful of rice and meat). Put the rolled leaves in a pot and add water to cover and 3 cans tomato paste and 1 can tomatoes on top. Cook until done.

2. *Xabe (chopped steak)*

Chop up steak into cubes. Brown in a pan and add chopped onions, bell peppers and celery. Add water (small amount) and a can of beef gravy or mushroom soup, or make your own gravy. Serve with steamed rice.

3. *Chile mole (Gypsy hot sauce)*

Serve as separate sauce for meat. Remove the skin by baking in an oven: onion (small), jalapeños (green peppers), green or red tomatoes, eggplant. Mix in a pan and cook in oil.

4. *Barbecue steak*

Warm in a pan the following sauce:

vinegar	red pepper (cayenne)
black pepper	soy sauce
garlic powder	salt

Dip the meat in this sauce and barbecue over charcoal fire.

5. *Fusuyeski zumi (Butter bean soup)*

Boil one ham very well. Boil 2 lbs of white beans (butter beans) in water and, when almost done, add ham chunks. Put into a frying pan, fry and add to the soup 3 Tablespoons of oil, chopped bell peppers, chopped onion, and 2 cans of tomato paste. Eat with *bogacha* or *pufe*.

6. *Pertya (Gypsy jello)*

Cut pigs' feet and ears into small pieces, split pigs' feet into four pieces. Boil until soft (2-3 hours). Cool and add garlic powder and salt (handful). Put soup in bowls and let it cool outside (or in the refrigerator). It will be jello in the morning.

7. *Paprikash*

Boil a hen with sliced potatoes and 1 can of tomato paste and water to cover. When almost done, add 2 chopped onions, 1 can corn, 2 sliced bell peppers, dash red pepper, 1/4 teaspoon black pepper.

8. *Puyo*

Cut up a boiling chicken and wash in 10 waters. Put in pot to boil (or cook in butter if fryers). Put cooked chicken in pot with 12 cups of water, one stick margarine and add, chopped, 1 clove garlic, 2 onions, 2 bell peppers, and 3 potatoes, sliced thin.

9. *Stuffed bell peppers*

Make the same rice filling as for *sarme*, but put it in raw, hollowed out peppers to cook.

10. Fish stew (can also be made with lamb)

Arrange fish in a pot with layers of celery, onions, bell peppers, parsley, lemon slices, red and black pepper, salt, jalapeños, all chopped. Add 2 cans tomato paste, oil, 1 cup water. Put on the lid and let it steam. Do not stir. Shake to keep from burning.

11. Barbecued pig on spit

Get a 40-50 pound pig. Cut out the Adam's apple. Scald in water to remove the hair. Slit the stomach and remove entrails. Wash several times. Cut off the ass and wash well again in salt water. Put a pole through the ass and out the hole in the throat. Add spices: salt, hot peppers, and A1 Sauce. Sew or skewer the stomach, then put thread around the skewers to hold together. Arrange two sticks at each end of the barbecue fire. Rub the pig in lard and salt and set it over the fire, turning frequently. Turkey, fish, chickens, etc. may be cooked the same way.

12. Bogača

2 1/2 lbs flour	warm water
1 handful baking powder.	1 handful salt

Mix the above in to a dough. Grease a pan and put in the mixture to bake.

13. Pufe

Take the same dough and drop globs into hot fat in a skillet until done.

14. Xaritsa (Gypsy cornbread pie)

Mix in a pan:

yellow corn meal	bacon pieces
water	oil
salt	(butter)

When cooked, place in a pie pan and let it cool. Then slice into pieces when cold and hard. Place in the refrigerator or outside to cool.

15. Pirogo

3 dozen eggs	flat egg noodles (2 packs)
2 cottage cheeses	1 bar longhorn cheese
1 lb. butter (raisins)	2 cups sugar

Boil the noodles, mix with the rest of the ingredients, and cook until brown.

16. Čaio (Gypsy tea)

Boil water, add sugar and add the tea to the water. Pour hot tea over fruit: strawberries, peach slices, apple slices, or lemon slices.

17. Saviako "Gypsy cake"

flour	baking powder
lard	water

Make a pastry and roll it out on a thin cloth. In the middle of the pastry put:
raisins
butter
fruit (peaches, pears, or bananas)

2-3 dozen eggs mixed with sugar
cottage cheese

Roll the dough onto the filling like a jelly roll, by lifting the cloth and letting it roll itself.

18. Kafa (Gypsy coffee)

Boil a kettle of cold water, add 2 1/2 big spoons of coffee (5 tbsp), let this come to the boil, and boil about 10 minutes. Pour a little cold water on the top so the *murga* (coffee grounds) will sink. Cover. Dip out coffee with a spoon from the top.

19. Lamb stew

Boil lamb meat until tender. Add 1 can tomato paste plus chopped vegetables:

2 celery sticks	1 bell pepper
2 onions	sprigs parsley
2 carrots	(potatoes)

20. *Rabbit stew*

Cut rabbit in small pieces, boil it. Remove from pan and wash the meat. Put it in a pan with oil and onions (chopped) and steam for 20 minutes. Add chopped bell pepper, celery, clove of garlic and red and black pepper. 1 can of tomato paste optional.

21. *Xaimoko*

Rabbit stew, but without tomato paste. Also add flour to oil to thicken before adding ingredients.

22. *Unusual green vegetables*

- a. *Matizorche* (adder's tongue fern). Cook like spinach and eat. Brings good luck.
- b. *Macriš*. Sorrel (*Rumex acetosa*), also referred to as sour grass.
- c. Dandelion leaves cooked as a green.

Notes

¹ The term Rom is used by Gypsies in the Bay area of California to refer primarily to all the *vitsi* of Kalderaš and Mačwaya and to members of the Kunešti *vitsa*.

² Welsh Gypsies, for example, used *máXado*, meaning stained, soiled, or defiled (Sampson 1926). See also Okely (1983) for the use of *mochadi*. Other descriptions of American Rom practices related to *marime* include Silverman (1981), Miller (1975), and Sutherland (1975, 1977, 1986).

³ In the community I studied which consisted of approximately 400 people at any one time, five percent of the Rom had married non-gypsy women. Marriage of a *romni* (Gypsy woman) to a non-gypsy is extremely rare, but the incidence is difficult to calculate since the action alone makes the woman instantly *marime* and she must leave the group permanently (Sutherland 1975).

⁴ The interest in classification systems and boundaries which was initiated by Durkheim and Mauss (1963) has been expanded by Mary Douglas (1966, 1970, 1972), who states that "A people whose experience of foreigners is disastrous will cherish perfect categories, reject exchange, and refuse doctrines of mediation" (1972:39).

⁵ *Lažav*, shame, is very like the Mediterranean idea of shame (see Campbell 1964) in that it is associated primarily with sexual morality, but it is not a concept restricted solely to women. Men also must demonstrate a sense of shame.

⁶These procedures include rectifying the behavior, a public trial (*kris*) and possibly some punishment. The most usual punishment in serious cases is a set period of *marime* status when no Rom will eat with the *marime* person or his family, who are socially ostracized.

⁷See Lee (1971: 29-30) for an example of such rules.

⁸Miller (1975: 42) offers an example of a Mačwano who felt that he would develop a skin rash if a razor that had fallen on the floor was used on his face.

⁹The only way such a stigma can actually be removed is by establishing that the act had never occurred.

¹⁰A reversal of normal behavior is very common during the transition phase of rites of passage (see Van Gennep 1960; Leach 1961: 133-136) and is consistent with the emphasis and reinforcement of the usual rules.

¹¹The current political situation in any group can usually be gauged by seeing who turns up at a feast and who fails to come. Sometimes one group will demonstrate its feelings only in the ritual context so that rituals are often the beginnings either of alliances or of new fights.

¹²See Leach (1961: 134) for a diagram of the different stages of a life cycle ritual.

¹³*Slava* (pl. *slave*) is a word of Serbian origin and in Serbia was celebrated by Gypsies as a family saint's day (Petrovic 1937: 122-123).

¹⁴Life expectancy among the Rom is very much lower than in the average American population. Since births are generally not registered, age at death is difficult to determine. Of the eight deaths that took place during my fieldwork, the oldest was 50 and the average age at death was 40.

¹⁵Many Rom will not listen to music or dance for six weeks to one year. The time period is a matter of personal choice.

¹⁶*Mamioro* was also translated as "flu." Swedish Rom also share the belief in *mamioro*, which they translated as "little grandmother," or "cholera" (Gjerdman and Ljungberg 1963). In Serbia, *Bibi* 'aunt,' was thought to be the source of cholera (Petrovic 1937: 115-137).

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The Flight into Mexico, 1917

Sheila Salo

With American entry into World War I and resultant military conscription, many American Rom moved into Mexico. The movement drew the attention of a number of federal agencies. Examination of documents generated by this complex of events allows us to analyze the interplay of these Rom and a state on a war footing, increasing its control over travel, immigration, and surveillance. The case study also leads to general observations on problems in Gypsy history.

They went into Mexico to escape the draft—draft dodgers. And then they had trouble getting back. Because they didn't have papers to show they were born in America.

This précis, as told by two middle-aged Rom in 1989, is the entire story for most American Rom when the subject is raised, and I have never known the subject to arise spontaneously. Following the trail of paper created in the wake of these events, we can flesh out the story of the response of the Rom to America's entry into World War I. Further, we can begin to evaluate its significance for American Rom history and the history of the interactions of Rom and government officials.

The story concerns only members of the Rom group, that is, the families of Kalderaš and Mačwaya who began emigrating to the United States from Russia, present-day Yugoslavia, and other parts of eastern Europe in the 1880s, and who form a linguistic social, and cultural and cultural entity in this country. Members of the other groups of Gypsies in the United States, such as the Romnichels, Ludar, and the Hungarian-Slovak musicians, do not come up in the data and presumably have

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different histories in their relationship to American history in the period under study as in so much else (Salo 1979).

In this paper the self-designation *Rom* refers to the group specified above. The term 'Gypsy' is used where a set of "Gypsy" ethnic groups is meant, where group's identity is unknown, or where it reflects non-Gypsy usage. I follow the anthropologists' rather than the historians' practice by giving the *Rom* pseudonyms.

The trail consists primarily of documents of the central office files of the State Department, and of files of that department's consular offices in Cananea, Guaymas, Nogales, Nuevo Laredo, Matamoros, and Monterrey, and its embassy in Mexico City; of case files and passenger manifests of the Bureau of Immigration (now known as the Immigration and Naturalization Service); of case files of the Bureau of Investigation (now known as the FBI); and of the Military Intelligence Division of the War Department (now part of the Department of Defense). All are among the publicly available documents in the National Archives and agency offices. As some materials which may bear on the story are not yet available, and others may be irretrievably lost, the details of the story are by no means complete, nor may they ever be. The ethnographic observations draw on field work from 1973 to the present.

Even prior to America's entry into the First World War, rumors of espionage and subversion that would later become full-blown war hysteria drew on sentiments of nativism and suspicion of the foreign-born and ethnic communities. With the rupture of diplomatic relations with Germany in February 1917 and declaration of war in April, many of these sentiments were given institutional shape. These institutions expanded the role of the national government in Americans' lives and in many areas had the effect of eroding civil liberties. A Committee on Public Information which saw itself as unifying the nation fostered consciousness of war and security in what we would now call propaganda. The Espionage Act of June 15, 1917 led to an increase in the machinery of surveillance. In October 1917 the Trading-with-the Enemy Act gave sweeping powers to the President to censor international communications. The Military Intelligence Division of the War Department grew from 2 officers in 1917 to 300 in 1918. The Bureau of Investigation expanded with new responsibilities for apprehending enemy aliens and enforcing the new conscription act. A volunteer organization, the American Protective League, by 1918 numbering 250,000, aided the Bureau with tips on disloyal or antiwar activities and draft evaders. State "committees of public safety" were often little but vigilante groups (Link and Catton 1980; Wynn 1986).

In such an atmosphere it is not surprising that Gypsies occasionally drew attention. What is surprising is that they drew so little.

With few exceptions newspapers covered Gypsy weddings, conflicts, deaths, arrests, and local expulsions as usual. War hysteria, however, as well as apparent ignorance of the social organization of Gypsy groups, informed the *Newark Evening News* editorial (4/26/17) in approval of a new state law permitting municipalities to license "roving bands of nomads, commonly called Gypsies." (The law itself was not a consequence of war fears [Salo 1988]). The paper advocated surveillance of Gypsies in "war conditions," not from suspicion of the Gypsies themselves, but because "plotters" might "bribe or coerce" the Gypsies or use their camps as rendezvous; "spies might readily join these bands and, under pretense of being gypsies, do considerable harm." The draft status of Gypsies was alluded to in January 1918 when, in covering the events surrounding the death of a Mačwano "king," a reporter stated that "Gypsies do not become citizens, the young men do not register for the draft" (*San Francisco Chronicle* 1/26/18). In reporting on a raid on an East St. Louis, Missouri, camp, possibly of Ludar, a newspaper suggested that the men might be prosecuted under the "work or fight" order of the War Department (*East St. Louis Daily Journal* 9/22/18).

The Gypsies first drew the attention of federal government agencies before the United States entered the war, when the concern was to maintain American neutrality. In mid-March 1917, the Pennsylvania State Police asked the Bureau of Investigation to look into the possibly suspect activities of Gypsies in the Harrisburg area, one group of whom was camped near the state arsenal. After diligent investigation, including surveillance of mail and interviews with customers (described as German-born and eager to cooperate to demonstrate their loyalty), the BI concluded that the Rom were legitimate coppersmiths, their only suspicious activity being their choice of campsite (RG65:OG4147). Indeed, they had been among the coppersmiths of the "invasion" of Britain, 1911 to 1914, and who had immigrated to the United States in several groups in 1913 and 1914 (Ackerley 1912-13, 1913-14; MacFie 1913; Salo and Salo 1986; Winstedt 1912-13). In June 1918 the Plant Protection Branch of the Office of Military Intelligence at Boston asked the BI to investigate a camp near the New England Westinghouse Company. The Gypsies at the camp were said to speak German among themselves, use the telegraph office, take pictures and make sketches of the plant. The investigation found that the Gypsies had been stranded by an absconding carnival owner, that the telegrams concerned finding new carnival jobs, and that none of the remaining allegations was true (RG65:OG212455).

The files hold records of citizens' suspicions passed on to the BI which were not followed up. The Texas man who wanted the Bureau to find the Gypsies who had bought the mules that had been stolen from him (RG65:OG82230 12/12/17). The Washington, DC woman reporting third-hand a story of Gypsy fortune-tellers who predicted, in reading the palms of servants, that a certain German victory would

turn the socio-economic tables, making the black servants masters (RG65:OG82230 4/3/18). Some they did follow up were equally bizarre. The suspicious package of canvas anxiously awaited by a Rom traveling in Texas and Louisiana whose trail is assiduously followed by agents tracking his telegrams (RG65:OG55516; RG165:correspondence 9140-3397). The agent hoping to find German spies following Rom near Baltimore on their grocery shopping trip (RG65:82230 9/24/17).

They went into Mexico...

The first of three call-ups for compulsory military service registration was announced for June 5, 1917. Like other Russian nationals, some Russian Rom sought to avoid service as foreigners. On June 8th and 11th, 1917, a number of Rom families visited the still-operating Imperial Russian Consulate in New York City, applying for certificates of citizenship to serve in lieu of passports, based largely on their own oral testimony (RG261 102:2,4; 103:1). Among these were immigrants through Canada in 1900, to Galveston, Texas in 1913, as well as some who had been denied entry and deported in 1904 and 1908 (RG85 NY; RG85 CD; RG85 GL; INS: 551974/174A). Also among them were Tom Hill (c. 1884-1919) and his father Sam (c. 1849-1926). The end of November found Tom in Mexico City, writing to the New York Russian consulate requesting a second copy of his certificate, the first having been lost (RG 261 12:3).

Some Rom, in statements made months later, claimed to have entered Mexico as early as April and May. The first contemporary notice is of a group crossing in October. We have little evidence of the actual journey. One family claimed to have hired a passenger and a baggage car on the Rock Island Line to take its party of 25 from Chicago to Laredo (RG84 Mat: 17,4). The only one of the known narratives written by Rom to mention the period (Wallace 1982) has the protagonist's family, afraid at the outbreak of war and counseled by other Rom, entrain for the border.

The direction of the links among the next few events is not yet clear. It seems, however, that, becoming aware of Gypsy movement across the border, those who had been following what later proved to be a false trail in search of Jimmy Glass, a boy who had been missing since 1915, renewed their search for the Gypsies wanted in the case. Although officially the Justice Department was not involved in the case (kidnaping was not made a federal crime until 1932), Bureau of Investigation agents in October and November 1917 did follow up what were thought to be leads. In the process of searching a Gypsy camp, a local sheriff's department in Texas found telegrams which convinced the BI that a conspiracy was afoot among Rom to escape the draft by moving into Mexico (RG65:OG82230; RG165:correspondence 9140-4447). In this the Rom would not have been alone;

Mexican-Americans in border states were under the same suspicion (Hall and Coerver 1988: 132). The BI then asked agents at port cities to report on Gypsy emigration, getting only negative responses (RG65:82230 11/20/17, 11/26/17, 11/27/17; RG65:211959 5/31/18). In a late contribution to these suspicions, a Rom in May 1918 informed the BI that another's sons remained unregistered for the draft, that they had both American and Mexican passports, that they moved back and forth across the border committing crimes, and that "thousands of Gypsies jump out of Texas when called for the draft" (RG65:OG199012).

By the time the conspiracy theory had been fully formed, however, the first Rom were already returning.

And then they had trouble getting back

Soon the draft became a minor problem for the Rom. Indeed, with one exception, the few Rom draft cases investigated by the Bureau of Investigation were quickly resolved. The Bureau was called in upon the arrest of the draft-age person for another matter, and a registration form was filled out for him (RG65:OG168926; OG211621). If the investigation followed the Rom's return from Mexico, the BI accepted absence from the country as a legitimate reason for not having registered earlier (RG65:179926). No punitive action was recommended. The case of Joe Green, who was sought as a deserter by his Chicago draft board, was different, it appears, because he was moving about rapidly. The BI tracked his mail and he was arrested in Baltimore. In the end he avoided punishment and service by convincing the Bureau and the board that he was the sole support of his mother (RG65:OG148433). Following up a citizen's complaint, the BI in September 1918 investigated a Kansas City Gypsy camp, finding cooperative Gypsies who gladly showed their registration cards (RG65:OG82230).

We thought it was better in Mexico, but we found out different.

This was the May 1918 testimony of a Romni (INS:54438/12). Mexico was still in the process of a revolutionary period that had begun in 1910. Conditions differed according to time and region, but in general by 1917 and 1918 the economy was in shambles, trains moved haphazardly, the food supply was unreliable, bandits or revolutionary skirmishes were common. In 1918 the 'Spanish influenza' arrived in Mexico and found victims among the already weakened population; we know that several Rom were among those victims (Knight 1986; RG 165, Mexican censorship file D-801 1/21/19; RG84 Can: 19,9 5/2/19). The worthlessness of Mexican money may, however, have proved advantageous for those, like the American Rom, who had foreign currency and scarcer gold. In May 1918 a report to the State Department

on Mexican money exchange problems included the observation that many Gypsies in Monterrey had been exchanging American gold coins for local currency (RG65: 232-3025 5/15/18). We have, of course, no direct evidence that the Rom were among those buying heirloom jewelry from cash-poor Mexicans (Knight 1986, v. 2:524).

A detailed account of the lives of the Rom while in Mexico will have to await a search of the Mexican documents. The Rom author who wrote on the period does not concern himself with hardships, but refers to coppersmithing and “church work”—the replating and burnishing of ecclesiastical vessels for churches and monasteries—and provides an account of a visit to camp from Pancho Villa, an account suggestive of those folk tales in which the powerless Rom bests the powerful ogre. An oral account of 1991 has a cut-throat Pancho Villa attacking Gypsy camps. It is impossible to gauge to what extent movies have colored these accounts by narrators who were not participants in the events.

While conditions within Mexico may have persuaded the Rom to return, wartime conditions on the border made return difficult. The clause of the new United States Immigration Act excluding illiterates went into effect in May 1917. From then on all aliens wishing to enter the United States had to show that they could read and write. At the end of July 1917 a joint order of the Department of State and Department of Labor on the “Control of Persons Coming to the United States During the War” apportioned responsibility for this control, emphasizing that immigration decisions resided with the immigration authorities. The diplomatic and consular officers’ functions in immigration matters were to be advisory only. On the other hand, consuls, who were to visa the passports and process the other forms required of persons intending to enter the United States, were to advise prospective immigrants of the exclusion provisions of the new Immigration Act, and to refuse visas where the applicant was suspected of “attitudes...inimical” “to defense in the present war” and “whose presence might constitute danger” (RG85:54125). By December 1917 the American Consul at Nuevo Laredo informed his superior at Mexico City that immigration authorities on the border were “refusing admission to all gypsies except those carrying American passports,” that they were asking that “all emigrants of this class be so informed,” and that he had been informed that “1800 [were] now in Mexico City arranging to come” (RG84 MC: 17,6). It is not clear on what grounds or under whose orders they were being excluded at that time. However, the policy was confirmed in a supplement to these instructions of June 5, 1918, which also required diplomatic and consular officers to refuse visas in all suspicious cases, with or without tangible evidence to support their suspicions. Among the rules given for determining whether the immigration authorities were likely to exclude an applicant, based on information furnished by the Immigration Service, was the “intention not to work but to depend on one’s wits for the earning

of a livelihood." The instructions state parenthetically that "this question arises with respect to Gypsies, peddlers, religious mendicants and promoters of questionable schemes," the only reference to Gypsies on the policy level (RG84 Nog: 8 6/5/18, Supplement no. 1 to General Instructions #535).

Beginning December 15, 1917, passports were required of all persons entering the country, whether alien or American. Passports for Americans abroad could be issued by the Department of State in Washington, the local consuls forwarding the corroborative documentation. Alternatively, emergency passports could be issued by American consuls. Native-born Americans required birth certificates or a suitable affidavit of birth in the US, or a baptismal certificate; naturalized Americans needed a certificate of naturalization (RG84 Mat).

Later in December consuls received instructions to visa no passports other than American ones without the specific approval of the State Department. In April 1918 the consular service's response to the Russian revolution, which had been unclear, resolved itself: no passports issued in Russia were to be visaed. One family of the group which had obtained Russian citizenship certificates in New York in June 1917 had been admitted at Brownsville on March 25, 1918 on valid American passports indicating their Servian descent (INS: 54645/265). At the same time the consuls received instructions not to visa passports issued to Syrians, Syria, with other Turkish domains, then being an enemy country.

The first of the Rom returnees left Veracruz by ship on October 27, 1917, and arrived in New Orleans on November 4th. 116 strong, they all were marked on the manifest as literate and US citizens, the family heads' having obtained their naturalization papers in Cleveland, Ohio in 1904 (RG85 NO). The group included the Rom (c 1862-1942), an 1893 immigrant through Brazil, who had earned a leadership position through his knowledge of immigration procedures and who had led his fellow Rom to the courthouse in 1904 (CCA 5/18-19/04; *Cleveland Press* 5/18/04; *Cleveland Plain Dealer* 5/19/04). About two weeks later a small group of five, also literate, but of Mexican nationality, arrived from Veracruz without difficulty (RG85 NO). In December the local Bureau of Investigation agent's report indicated that these groups were coppersmiths who arrived every year (RG65:OG82230 12/7/17).

The American Rusuya

On November 8, 1917, Joe Green (c. 1888-1949), a Rom of the group known as Rusuya 'Russians', who later was to be called a Gypsy king, was admitted to the US at Laredo on the American passport which he obtained by presenting an expired passport and his certificate of registration for military service. His brother, mother,

and several related families were refused admission, as they had no documents to prove their birth in the United States. Many of these families had immigrated on a single ship, landing at St. John, New Brunswick, in December 1900 (RG85 CD). The Greens' claim was that the mother was an Cherokee Indian, thus certainly a native American, and that her son was born in Chicago. As both claimed birth in Russia in responding to the 1910 census, I think we can take these claims as those of convenience (RG 29: rl. 1367). Going to Matamoros, the group sought help from G. C. Woodward, the American Consul there. Woodward telegraphed local agencies in Chicago and Oklahoma City in vain attempts to get birth documentation, and a railroad company to corroborate the group's travel to Mexico. The group also compiled affidavits vouching for one another, and papers showing their long residence in the United States, including, in one case, dated storage warehouse receipts, an Odd Fellows membership certificate, and a driver's license. On this basis, and with Woodward pointing out that "their speech and manner would indicate either American birth or long United States residence," and recommending the entire group be treated like the brother who had entered successfully, the families applied for passports from the State Department. These they received in due course and in mid-April were admitted as holding proof of American citizenship (RG59:855; RG84 Mat: 17,4; 18,3; RG65:OG146335).

This group's immigration troubles were over, but another difficulty was to linger for two more years, the affair referred to by the Matamoros consulate clerk as *The Gold of the Gypsies* (RG 84 Mat: registers of correspondence 1917-1919). The Mexican government at the time had forbidden the export of gold coin from the country. Consul Woodward advised the Rom to change the gold they intended to use as currency for paper money, and arranged with Mexican customs officials for the export of the coins used as jewelry. A short time earlier Mexican Indian soldiers had broken into the houses of the Rom; Woodward then had arranged for an armed guard to protect them. Woodward believed that the assault motivated the Rom to conceal their gold upon heading for the International Bridge between Matamoros and Brownsville, Texas in their automobiles. The Rom were searched by the Mexican customs officials; the gold was found and seized. Woodward, going to the customs office, found that the guards had combined the coins and jewelry belonging to the various families in a single pile, and had cut the necklace strings, as they were interested only in determining the currency value of the gold. Woodward protested the seizure of the gold and took it to the consulate safe. Later he, his clerk, the Mexican collector of customs and Tom Hill, whom Woodward then considered the group's spokesman, inventoried the gold and silver. Woodward gave the silver to Hill to distribute to the owners, and made lists of the gold items each family claimed had been taken, intending to return them when Mexico permitted their export. The silver included two filigreed and tasseled silver belts, silver buttons about the size

of small eggs, and a coat covered with strings of silver coins. The gold included Austrian, Spanish, Turkish, French, American and Mexican pieces.

Export permission was slow in coming, and Woodward began to receive telegrams from the Rom and their attorneys—a congressman too, weighed in with an inquiry—as the Rom resumed travel in the United States. Most insistent was Tom Hill who, although not one of the owners of the gold, demanded it be sent to him alone. In late 1918, Woodward was transferred to the consulate in Campbelltown, New Brunswick. In anticipation, he sent the gold to the State Department at Washington, hoping the department, with its cadre of lawyers, would be equipped to distribute the property. Rebuking Woodward for his irregular action—they believed he had also been out of line in protesting the seizure of the gold—the State Department returned the treasure. So Woodward's successor, Consul G. R. Willson, inherited the gold and the Gypsies as well. For the telegrams were still coming, by December from Tom Hill's father, Sam. (Both Sam and his son had come to North America in 1900, and were among the Rom A. T. Sinclair met in Boston in 1902 [RG85 CD; ATS: notebook 68; Salo 1988].) Tom had died and Sam asserted that he was "Captain and Boss," that the other Gypsies who claimed the "trunk full of jewelry" "are not citizens but a bunch of robbers." In March of 1919 the lawyer now handling the case for the Greens and the rest of the group, after consulting Woodward and Willson, suggested that the Greens bring civil suit in a Texas court for recovery of the property from the Consul. The case won for the Rom, the gold was returned to them through their lawyer (RG84 Mat: 18,4; 19,1; RG84 Ctn: 19,1; 19,3; RG59: 612.11244).

The Meksikaya

An extended family of Rom horse traders, now known among the Rom as Meksikaya 'Mexicans', was refused admission by the Board of Special Inquiry of the Immigration Service at Eagle Pass, Texas, in September 1918 as illiterates. Two families of the group appealed, and were permitted to enter the country temporarily on bond in early November. The group claimed Montenegrin ancestry, but birth in the United States, and their temporary admission was intended to enable them to obtain documentary proof of their claims. These families had close business relations with non-Gypsies in Fort Smith, Arkansas, and these non-Gypsies provided effusive affidavits. One of the family heads presented his papers in person to the Commissioner General of Immigration in Washington, who, while reserving judgment on whether the spurious or irrelevant documents proved American birth, approved the family's permanent admission based on the Rom's "good...demeanor and bearing" and the circumstantial evidence that he had lived in the United States continuously for a long period. The temporary admission and bond of this man's

cousin was extended for successive six-month periods until finally, in 1920, he was admitted permanently without having produced any further documentation. At that time a new acting Secretary of Labor was persuaded by the record that, given the family's traveling life, no better documentation could have been expected. For this family, two years after the armistice, the war was over (RG59: 811.11/35151; INS: 54740/36; INS:54438/12).

The Canadians

No resolution is provided in the records in the case of two Rom families bearing Canadian passports or naturalization papers and thus considered British subjects, said to have been part of the group of Rusuya who had come to Mexico in October 1917. They too had been among the immigrants landing at St. John, New Brunswick, in 1900 (RG85 CD). Excluded at Laredo in January 1918, the group waited for months as Rom in Philadelphia made apparently fruitless trips to Washington in efforts to arrange matters. Proposing to pay for the services of an immigration official to accompany them through the US to Canada, they were again refused at Brownsville in August, and at last report had started for Mexico City with a letter of introduction from Consul Woodward to see the British Ambassador (RG59:811.11/5465; RG84 Mat: 18,8; RG84 Mty: 18,6).

The Company of Russians

In the last days of December 1917, two of eight families of Rom presented themselves at the American Consulate in Matamoros to obtain visas of their Russian passports and to attempt to enter the United States at Reynosa. Two of the families are known to have immigrated to Canada from France, landing in St. John in March 1913 (RG85 CD). All were coppersmiths. These and two others of the eight had crossed into the United States in October of that year at Montreal (RG85 CD). Another of the eight families had arrived in Halifax from Liverpool in February 1914, at which time the family head had identified himself as a farmer of Bulgarian nationality bound for Calgary (RG85 CD). Some of the families had lived in Chicago and Baltimore.

The families had been in Mexico since about October 1917, and had had their Russian passports which had been issued in 1910 and 1911 visaed by the Russian Consul in Mexico City in November. Though Consul Woodward thought little of their chances of being admitted by the Immigration Service, he telegraphed the central offices of the State Department in Washington for instructions on whether to visa the passports. By January 4 the department had instructed Woodward to refuse visas if the Rom were found to be Syrian, and to postpone action if Russian.

The head of one of the families, a letter—a sort of safe-conduct—in hand from Woodward, headed to Mexico City to seek some sort of permit from the Russian ambassador there which would help the group cross the border. By February 20 the State Department had decided to refuse visas to the Rom, but by then the group had left Matamoros. By March 8 its consular officers had orders to grant no visas to Russians without express permission from Washington (RG84 Mat: 17,3; 18,8; RG84 Mty: 18,6).

The Rom, taking matters into their own hands, contracted with a Mexican to take them across the border surreptitiously and about March 20 were smuggled across the river at Rio Grande City, camping in the brush while awaiting six automobiles they had hired to take them “across the sand” to Hebbronville, Texas, where they hoped to board the train for, ultimately, Chicago. But the chauffeurs panicked and notified the local Bureau of Investigation agent, who, with other officers and an Immigration Service official, arrested the Rom and brought them back to Rio Grande City. The jailed Rom agreed to return to Mexico (RG65:232-2838; INS:54395/75).

By April 17 the Rom were in Monterrey, again seeking visas on their Russian passports (RG59:811.111/4680; RG84 Mty: 18,6). In May telegrams flew back and forth between one of the family heads and a Rom in Philadelphia, who had traveled on the same ship in 1914, in the hope that the Philadelphia man might be able to assist through visits to Washington (RG165: correspondence 10915-264/1). Visas were granted on June 1 (RG59:811.111/4680; RG84 Mty: 18,7), and the Rom, armed with a sympathetic letter from the American Consul in Monterrey to the Immigration Service in Laredo (RG84 Mty: 18,7 6/7/18), again presented themselves at the border. Again they were excluded (RG84 Mat: 18,8). Excluded aliens had to wait a year before reapplying. Three of the family heads on June 19 sent an entreaty in Spanish to the Monterrey Consul, beseeching him to further aid the “company of Russians” who “remain imperiled to death by hunger,” having “no work or other means of livelihood” (RG84 Mty: 18,7 6/19/18).

By late October the eight families were in Sonora in the west of Mexico, trying their luck at the American Consular Agency in Cananea (RG84 Can: 18,6). The Consul at Nogales, consulted on the matter, seemed sympathetic, but, in view of the previous exclusion, supposed “there is nothing we can do” (RG84 Can: 18,6 11/6/18). November brought the news that the group would have to wait out the year.

In February 1919, one of the family heads, having traveled southward to Guaymas on the Gulf of California, telegraphed back to Cananea. Had the permit arrived? No, and the Rom were instructed to apply to the American Consulate in Guaymas. And here, unfortunately, the record ends (RG84 Can:19,6).

J-- W-- ...cannot cross to United States save his life
(intercepted telegram, RG165:Mexican censorship file D-801 1/20/19)

The notion of a concerted effort of Gypsies to leave the United States for Mexico, which was entertained by the Bureau of Investigation in late 1917, was replaced in 1918 by that of a conspiracy to bring Gypsies in *from* Mexico. It began with the report, shared by local Immigration authorities and the BI, of the offering of bribes by the company of Russians. By May 1918 records supporting a conspiracy were posted on the bulletin boards in the Mexican border immigration and consular offices. A zealous Western Union employee had intercepted telegrams between Mačwaya in Sacramento, California and others in St. Louis, Missouri. Forwarded from the US Attorney in Sacramento to the US Attorney in San Francisco, and thence to the Immigration Station on Angel Island, California, they reached wide distribution through the El Paso, Texas district immigration office. The telegrams were interpreted as indicating that these Rom were planning to bring others from Mexico using the papers of those already here (RG84 Mty:18,7). That interpretation appears to be accurate in this case. In June Inspector Reynolds of the Brownsville, Texas, immigration office, expressed his suspicion that the 176 Rom who had been admitted as American citizens in April and May had passed on fraudulent proof of citizenship, and alleged that Gypsies then in Matamoros were attempting to obtain certificates of naturalization belonging to others to support their claims of citizenship before Consul Woodward (INS:54645/265). At that time Supervising Inspector F. W. Berkshire in El Paso suppressed Reynolds' letter for its indiscreet attacks on the consular service (INS:54645/265). A week later Inspector Trout of the Laredo immigration office, considering the case of one of the Meksikaya, informed the American Consul in Nuevo Laredo that another Rom had recently testified under oath in immigration proceedings that his original passport had been obtained on an affidavit falsely attesting to his native birth. He used the case of this Rom to counsel suspicion of others. In July the El Paso Supervising Inspector repeated Trout's report in a letter to the Commissioner General of Immigration, recommending that Gypsy applicants should sustain the burden of proof of citizenship. In August the Military Censor at Laredo sent an intercepted telegram to his superior in Washington, expressing the opinion that "permit[ting]" "a bunch of Gypsies who have been denied admission to this country" "to maintain a stream of telegraphic communication between eastern Cities and Mexican border towns considered inadvisable" (RG165:PF25402/3; 2652-50). No response from the Chief Military Censor is recorded, but the Laredo Censor seems not to have intercepted similar telegrams during this period.

In November 1918, in further consideration in the case of the Meksikaya, Immigration Commissioner General A. Caminetti reported to his superior, Acting Secretary of Labor John W. Abercrombie, that "numbers of Gypsies have been trying to enter the United States from Mexico, as usual equipped with all sorts of papers purporting to show American citizenship," and that it was "a well known fact that some of these Gypsy tribes some have secured emergency passports at American consulates in Mexico based on false affidavits" (INS 54740/36 11/30/18). In mid-January 1919, the Military Censor at Laredo intercepted a series of telegrams among Rom in Arizona and between those in Arizona and others in Detroit, all concerning getting relatives out of Mexico and offering help to that end for a fee (RG165:PF47090; Mexican censorship file D-806). At least one of these telegrams was passed on to the Bureau of Investigation. In late February Sam Hill appeared at the Bureau of Immigration in Washington alleging that he had information that about 180 Gypsies had entered at Brownsville in March or April 1918 as American citizens on altered passports (INS: 54645/265). Hill's accusation triggered a call for a report from the El Paso immigration office; El Paso replied with a copy of Reynolds' report of June 1918. Thus began a series of accusations by Hill, which included allegations that the American Consul at Matamoros had been bribed, and ended only with Hill's death in 1926 (*Brooklyn Daily Eagle* 9/16/26, 9/17/26). Hill's accusations were understood by the Commissioner General of Immigration as stemming from internal grievances among the Rom (INS:54645/265). At the same time the tug of war over prerogatives between the consular services and the immigration bureau reached the Cabinet level of the Secretaries of State and Labor. In this struggle, waged over the Meksikaya cases, the allegations of Gypsy citizenship fraud were repeated.

In December 1920 the Chicago office of the Bureau of Investigation, in response to a request from the Chicago Immigration Bureau office, looked into alleged impersonation of citizenship by Gypsies on the Mexican borders. They found a willing informant in Robert Brown (c. 1885-1969), who, it was confirmed, had "aided the government" during the war. Brown cited cases of false passports and impersonation of other Rom, and used the opportunity to accuse his current opponent, head of the families known as Kanadesuya 'Canadians', of illegally crossing the Canadian border (RG65:39-0; 39 Ns (39-73-1). No further references to the Mexican admission conspiracy have been found, and we may assume for the moment that interest waned with time.

The War of Wills

Another war in which the Gypsies got caught up was that fought between the State Department's consular service and the Immigration authorities over responsibility for admission to the United States and proof of citizenship. As the consular service aids American citizens abroad, and the Immigration Service saw its duty as protecting the country from undesirables, there was bound to be a conflict. The jointly agreed upon instructions regarding Control of Persons Coming to the United States During the War should have settled the question and avoided conflict, but the record shows that it did not. The Rom of our story were affected on the local level primarily by the conflict between Inspector Reynolds of the Brownsville Immigration office and Woodward, the American Consul at Matamoros, a conflict further inflamed, it seems, by clash of personalities.

At the end of April in 1918, Woodward's superiors admonished him to leave immigration questions to the immigration authorities, replying to his query about the Canadian Rom families, "department does not deem it advisable facilitate entry into U.S. of Gypsies mentioned" (RG84 Mat:18,8 4/25/18). On the same day Woodward, who from his choice of words seemed frustrated by Immigration's stubborn policy, warned other consuls that it was "useless" to visa alien Gypsy passports, or those of Gypsies who could not prove their citizenship (RG84 Mat:18,8 4/26/18). In May a Bureau of Investigation agent, unpersuaded by his investigations in Cleveland of the citizenship claims of a Rom, recommended close scrutiny. When Woodward ignored the agent's advice and recommended the issuance of a passport to the Rom, the agent recorded his strong objection (RG5:179059).

Reynolds had been with the BI agent when the company of Russians were arrested after illegally crossing the border, and their testimony appeared to confirm suspicions he relayed to his supervisor in June 1918 (RG65:232-2838; INS:54645/265). These were that someone in the American consulate in Monterrey was accepting bribes from Gypsies; and that most of the Gypsies admitted as American citizens had obtained their citizenship papers on fraudulent affidavits. He further complained that American consular officers made it difficult for Immigration officials by accepting proofs of citizenship that the latter would have to disprove. Finally, Reynolds found Woodward too friendly and helpful to the Gypsies, pointing out Woodward's efforts to help them obtain proof of citizenship, through sending telegrams for them, for example, and concluding with Woodward's assistance to the Rusuya in reclaiming the gold seized by Mexican customs officials. Reynolds' "many long and earnest talks" with Consul Woodward had, he complained, failed to convince the consul of the "undesirability of flooding the US with

Gypsies unless they can prove [their American citizenship],” and of “the many frauds frequently perpetrated by Gypsies in their efforts to attain a desired end” (INS: 54645/265 6/4/18). El Paso excoriated Reynolds’ whining, reminding him that decisions of immigration officers were final unless reversed by the Secretary of Labor on appeal, that his suspicions regarding applicants should be made concrete before hearings of the Board of Special Inquiry, and that he must not rely on consular officials to do his job (INS:54645/265 6/17/18). Reynolds’ report was squelched by the supervisor, as we have indicated, because of its remarks “reflecting the integrity of another department of the government,” but subsequently, in March 1919, passed on to the Commissioner General. In any case, Reynolds had made similar remarks about Woodward in a telegram to the Commissioner General sent two days before his June 1918 letter to El Paso. The personal conflict continued, for Reynolds, at least. In January 1921, Reynolds replied to the Bureau of Investigation’s requests for information on impersonation of citizenship by Gypsies on the Mexican border by repeating references to “Woodward’s tireless activity in aiding the Gypsies in Matamoros” (RG65:39 Ns (39-73-1). We have no direct evidence linking Woodward’s aid to the Gypsies and his transfer to quieter Campbelltown in late 1918.

Reynolds can almost certainly be seen as a bigot, unashamed to speak of the “extreme undesirability of admitting Gypsies,” and of describing two separate groups as “filthy” (INS:54645 6/2/18; INS: 54395/75 3/25/18). While Reynolds’ complaint speaks of “the warm spot” (RG85: 54645/265 6/4/18) Woodward’s heart supposedly had for Gypsies, Woodward’s words and actions reveal a more complex person. He seems to have been motivated by his duty to aid Americans, and there are hints that he found the inflexibility of the Immigration officers frustrating. Yet he also wrote of the Canadian Rom that they were poor material for immigrants (RG84 Mat: 18,8 5/10/18) and, of the Rusuya whose gold he recovered, “I remember that crowd to my sorrow and guess every member of the force, who was there at the time, does also” (RG84 Ctn: 19.1 5/22/19). Woodward also appears to have been somewhat unrealistic, suggesting unworkable schemes for the return of the gold and the escort of the Canadians.

In March 1919 the war of wills between the State Department and the Immigration Bureau erupted at the Cabinet level, as we have seen. Considering the Meksikaya case, the Secretary of State declared that the State Department had sufficient proof of citizenship, the Secretary of Labor demanded to see the proof. On delivery, the Commissioner General recommended accepting State’s evidence. The State Department had won this round (INS:54740/36).

Those looking for heroes or villains in this story will be disappointed. Few individuals and few actions can be seen as wholly good or bad. The Rom did attempt to evade military service by fleeing to Mexico, and did counsel others to do so. Federal agencies, whatever their wartime motivations, overstated the extent of the common action of the Rom and abused the civil liberties of the Rom in their investigations. The Rom did attempt to re-enter the United States by using subterfuge, fraudulent documentation, and false testimony. Practically speaking, they probably could not have accomplished the same end by other means (although, from a middle-class, non-Gypsy point of view, learning to read would have been easier, quicker, and far cheaper). Certainly most of the Rom who had difficulty re-entering really had been in the United States for long periods, as they claimed. As certainly, the State Department, and even more so, the Immigration Service, treated the Gypsies' applications too inflexibly.

The Immigration Service was, we have seen, too willing to judge one group of Gypsies by the actions of another. On the other hand, we also see change as the times and personnel changed. In the long-running case of one of the Meksikaya families, the same argument, that of nomadism, that stood against the Rom in 1917 was adduced in their favor in 1919.

The period under study seems to have had few direct consequences for the Rom. Only one of the admittedly few American Rom written narratives even mentions the Mexican period. One of these narratives was written by a member of the family of Rusuya whose gold was seized. Papers concerning the incident were apparently among his belongings, yet his memoirs contain no reference to it (CWF 1: 7; 2: 3).

While the same man was briefly arrested as a deserter in 1918, this detention was apparently not made part of his record when he was convicted in World War II of aiding draft evasion (FBI:25-94603). At that time a Selective Service official's reference to the World War I Gypsy flight into Mexico appeared in a newspaper (*New York Times* 3/3/42). Unfortunately I have not yet found any record showing how and where that knowledge was preserved in the agency. The World War II case was, however, made part of the record for the Korean War period (FBI:25-94603 3/12/51).

Perhaps the most lasting consequence of the Mexican events is their contribution to the American Rom patterns of leadership and conflict. Rom who had returned to the US tried to aid those who were attempting to cross, sometimes, it appears, performing obligations due kin, even sending money to those stranded at the border. In other cases money was exchanged for promised aid. One Rom, in quoting his price for services, claimed to have been instrumental in getting the Meksikaya out, though the records do not show that he had any hand in those cases.

We can also see a relation between the draft experience of Joe Green and his later efforts to help others escape the draft.

The irregularities of the return from Mexico provided new resources to Rom hoping to gain power over others. Sam Hill, angered at not having obtained the gold, tried to induce the submission of the Rom who had got it by informing on them on the basis of those irregularities. He approached the Commissioner General of Immigration, the Inspector at Ellis Island, the Bureau of Investigation, the New York police and finally, President Coolidge, in attempts to have them deported (RG65:OG357667; INS:5465/265). Wishing only to threaten and not actually to achieve that aim, he promised but never gave names and addresses, and died before accomplishing his goal. Robert Brown also gave information on alleged fraudulent border crossings. That this information became one of the sources of his power was indicated in 1932, when a Rom indicated that Gypsies found it prudent to carry copies of their certificates of naturalization with them at all times in case Robert should denounce them (INS:23/14250).

It is by now understood that cultural distinctiveness and social separation are essential features of "Gypsy" groups, that one can no longer, as in earlier literature, combine features from several groups in writing about their cultures. A single unit "Gypsies" is inadequate for an understanding of these groups. Similarly each group has its own history within a particular political and temporal context. The story of the Mexican flight, for example, concerns only Rom.

We are often faced, especially in dealing with early accounts, with the question of how to identify the "Gypsies" of the texts with any group or groups of the present day. In many cases we simply cannot know whether the "Gypsies" of the texts are the ancestors of any present-day Gypsy group. This makes comparisons in the temporal dimension exceedingly chancy. In the present case the individuals involved are demonstrably the immediate ancestors of present-day Rom, and they themselves can be traced to their immigration to North America, and sometimes even earlier.

This study is inevitably limited. The oral history and fragmentary accounts by the Rom are not contemporary with the events and, as a different type of evidence, are not strictly comparable to the archival records. Since none of the Rom who made the decision to flee to Mexico is living today, we cannot explore further their motivations. The Rom who tell the story are, however, agreed that the purpose was avoidance of the draft. Similar difficulties prevent us from fully discovering the exact processes leading to the decisions to attempt to return to the United States and face possible draft. I am aware of no extensive studies of the wartime experiences of other ethnic groups which would permit comparison with that of the Rom.

Comparison through a full analysis of the entire corpus of primary data must await further researchers.

Recently some history students (for example Lucassen 1988), following Acton (1979), have expressed antipathy toward ethnographic approaches to the understanding of Gypsy cultures. They have asserted that such an understanding is possible only through studying the development of the policies of governments and other non-Gypsy authorities toward Gypsies. Such an approach places the Gypsies entirely in a passive position—it removes the Gypsies from Gypsy history. The present study shows that an important locus for understanding is the interplay between the non-Gypsies and the Gypsies. In the period of return and later, Rom and non-Gypsies in turn took the initiative in casting suspicion on the Rom. I would suggest that such a tangled web is the norm rather than the exception in the interrelations between American Rom and non-Gypsy authorities.

Ethnographers have observed the general patterns of leadership and conflict in American Rom culture (for example, Gropper 1975:60-107; Kent 1975; Sutherland 1975:97-138). Historical studies can examine the particular contingencies of changing sources of power available to potential "bosses." The events on the Mexican border created a new resource for both fixers and blackmailers, one that affected relations among Rom for a generation. This chapter of what can be called Gypsy history proper was the product of the interrelations of actions by Rom and by non-Gypsies.

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BOOK REVIEWS

En men noemde hen zigeuners: De Geschiedenis van Kaldarasch, Ursari, Lowara en Sinti in Nederland (1750-1944). *Leo Lucassen.* Amsterdam: Stichting beheer Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis (Cruquiusweg 31, 1019 AT Amsterdam, Netherlands), and The Hague: SDU, 1990. 414 pp. \$45 (paper).

Stephen A. Stertz

Lucassen, a sociologist as well as an historian, expresses part of his thesis in his book's title, which translates *And People Call Them Gypsies: The History of the Kaldarasch, Ursari, Lowara, and Sinti in the Netherlands (1750-1944)*. The work is, in part owing to limitations of source materials, not so much a history of these groups as of the attitudes toward them of agencies of the Dutch government, particularly the Ministry of Justice, police, and Administrator for Border Control and Aliens Service, and to a lesser extent local mayors and the press. He says nothing about the self-definition, beliefs, and internal social life of these groups, and does not even address the question of whether they defined themselves as "Gypsies." His thesis is that groups of differing origins, the Ursari and Sinti having been Italian in origin and the other groups Hungarian or Balkan, practicing different occupations, become "Gypsies" to the outside world, here the Dutch authorities and populace, because they are labeled and stigmatized, owing to their foreign origin, exotic appearance (complexion, clothing), and permanent and overt nomadic behavior. They are thus stigmatized as foreigners, parasites, and potential criminals. Lucassen includes a schematic chart classifying these groups according to the above characteristics (p. 234). He follows the model of the social historian Dirk van Arkel, author of *Antisemitism in Austria* (1966), apparently oblivious to the fact that, historically, no group totally without Jewish associations has ever been stigmatized as Jewish.

Thus we are given an external history of the Dutch government's attitudes to groups characterized and stigmatized as "Gypsies." Chapter 2, covering the period 1420-1868, is derived mainly from secondary sources and describes the arrival in the Late Middle Ages of nomadic groups the Dutch called *heiden* ('heathens'), which were gradually subject to increasingly negative attitudes and

treatment. In his introduction Lucassen mentions the antagonism between sedentary and nomadic groups as a cause of the persecution of Gypsies, but fails to follow this thesis up. Instead he toys with Marxist theories about "proletarianization" causing nomadic groups to support themselves by theft which in turn resulted in their more intense persecution. Ethnic and cultural antagonism between groups with very different values and lifestyles is given short shrift.

The heart of the book, chapters 3 to 5, constitutes a detailed history, including individual case histories, of official Dutch attitudes toward Gypsy groups between the arrival of Hungarian tinkers and animal trainers (Kaldarasch) and Bosnian bear leaders (Ursari) in about 1868, and the German occupation in 1940. These chapters are heavily footnoted with references to Dutch government records, some of which are on a computerized database. The Dutch press is also used to advantage, and even foreign consular records are cited.

Lucassen maintains that the negative attitudes toward the "heathens," who were expelled by the mid-eighteenth-century, continued through popular beliefs and literature about Gypsies in other countries, as expressed in Dutch encyclopedias of the period (pp. 28-9), and were applied to the new nineteenth-century arrivals by the Dutch government, which treated them more strictly than it did other aliens. He notes, however, that municipal governments, which noted that the Gypsies were law-abiding, merely carried out policy in this and other matters, and took a less negative attitude than central government authorities, which thought in more general, theoretical, terms, had no personal contact with Gypsy groups, and had more leisure and power to formulate policy toward these new arrivals. Lucassen might here have examined and cited some of the literature about the inflexibility and standardizing tendencies of the modernizing bureaucratic state (recent works by Benjamin Ginsberg [1982, 1986] come to mind). Obviously nomadic groups present more difficulty to the centralizing state which wants to keep careful and close track of the entire population and will stigmatize all "deviants," a term still used in sociology. Lucassen does not really follow up in this direction, giving virtually no analysis of the reasons for the increasingly negative policy of the government other than a rather mechanical repetition of Van Arkel's model. In 1928, as Lucassen notes in chapter 5, the Dutch Border Patrols and Aliens Service, influenced by policies in neighboring countries and post-World War I nationalistic xenophobia, extended its anti-Gypsy stigmatization to a new group, the Sinti of Italian origin, hitherto not regarded as Gypsies because they often lived in boarding houses rather than caravans and were not of Central or East European origin. Steps to register all nomadic people, including caravan dwellers of Dutch origin, were taken; government documents accused some of these people of brutality and drunkenness.

In the last two chapters, Lucassen describes what he considers might have been the logical conclusion of these policies, the deportation of 245 Dutch Gypsies, with the full cooperation of the Dutch authorities, to Westerbork and ultimately to Auschwitz, following on measures taken during the German Occupation to register and concentrate in a limited number of areas all caravan dwellers. He concludes with a comparative study, illustrated in tabular form (p. 223), noting that the number of Gypsies deported to concentration camps was greater in many other occupied countries than in the Netherlands, and that definitions were broader (all caravan dwellers were considered as Gypsies in France).

There are highly detailed appendices, listing archival material in detail, citing at length government circulars, summarizing government registers on the entry of numerous Gypsy groups, elaborate bibliographies of primary and secondary material, and an index of names. The book is illustrated with maps, graphs, and photographs taken from contemporary sources. It must be said that Lucassen is far more successful in collecting and documenting materials than at proving his theses.

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Musiques Tsiganes et Flamenco. *Bernard Leblon*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 1990. 206 pp., bibliography, discography. 122 F (paper).

Patrick Williams

In this work Bernard Leblon discusses the genesis of flamenco. While it has already been widely debated, this question remains fascinating. Flamenco appeared in Andalusia at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries as a totally original expression. Reference to earlier musical traditions in Andalusia does not account for its originality. For a long time, the role played by Gitanos in this genesis was that of interpreters, albeit exceptional ones, making their imprint on the material they got hold of, but nonetheless interpreters rather than creators.

Following the intuition of Manuel de Falla in notes published on the occasion of the famous *cante jondo* contest in Granada in 1922 (de Falla 1972) and the analyses of Antonio Mairena and Ricardo Molena (1971), Leblon asserts that, on the contrary, the Gitanos played a determinant role in the invention of flamenco. But while Mairena and Molina attempted to show the essential part which the Gypsies played through an examination of the intrinsic characteristics of flamenco song, Leblon analyzes it within two contexts, that of flamenco in the history of the Gitanos in Spain (here Leblon the historian [1985] joins Leblon the musicologist); and that of flamenco in the whole of Gypsy musical traditions (here the specialist in Spanish Gitanos joins some specialists on the Gypsies of central Europe, particularly André Hajdu (1962, 1964).

The relevance of the second aspect rests on an assumption never asserted by Andalusian scholars, that is, that the Gitanos of Spain and the Gypsies of Central Europe have in common a single origin and consequently form a single people.¹ Taking this thesis as given permits Leblon to make the central linkage of his demonstration, to compare the most authentic forms of flamenco with the traditional songs of the Rom.

Holding that the Gitanos are the creators of flamenco requires mixing facts and supposition. The historian is reduced to imagining events attested by no documents.

The most delicate question remains that of the relations and interferences between a purely Iberian professional repertoire and an authentically Gypsy music for internal use and consequently completely unknown, which was able to be maintained for a rather long time within Gitano families, until final fusion occurred (pp. 61-62).

If we know practically nothing of the conditions of the gestation of flamenco, it is precisely because it happened in the shadows, in the intimacy of some Gitano families who, having become Andalusian over several centuries, brought about within their households the fusion of an ancient native repertoire with musical traditions which one would have expected to have disappeared, in a fabulous alchemy of collective memory and transcended sorrow (p. 128).

On several occasions, Leblon states that it would be wrong to think that the Gypsies arrived in Spain "without baggage," particularly musical baggage. But all of us, the readers as well as the author, must imagine this "baggage."

In fact, in the years following their arrival in Spain, the Gitanos were known as interpreters of native popular music. Their exoticism was then limited to costume and accent, an exoticism which non-Gypsy interpreters often assumed as well. Then the persecutions began. For nearly two centuries there was silence for the Gitanos whom the authorities forbade to speak their own language, to wear a distinctive costume, and to practice their traditional activities, for Gitanos obliged to become

sedentary and to take up a non-Gypsy trade. The explosion of flamenco occurred at the same time the Gitanos reappeared on the public scene, with the Pragmatic of Charles III, signed in 1783. And it is precisely in the lower Guadalquivir valley, which during the years of persecution seemed the cradle of the Gitanos that this new art (Leblon insists upon its novelty) grew. The "subterranean paths" which led to this explosion fascinate Leblon and he sets about to reconstruct them with rigor, detail, and passion.

He first shows that the leap from Andalusian popular music to flamenco is staggering. The sequence he emphasizes is that the *seguedilla* leads to the *seguiriya*. Similarly, nearly nothing of the peasant *fandango* remains in the flamenco *fandango*. He then clears the field of other possible oriental influences, mainly Byzantine liturgy, Arabic and Jewish music; they occur in Andalusian folklore well before the appearance of flamenco. And above all, the most distinctive characteristics of flamenco are absent in all these traditions—free rhythm, absence of exact correspondence of text and music, preponderance of performance over material, that is, of emotion over form, the latter shaping the former. So to account for what in flamenco cannot be reduced to musical traditions previously present in Andalusia and which appear to have been introduced by Gitanos, Leblon turns to the music of the Gypsies of Central Europe. The category of the "long song" according to the definition of the musicologist Bernard Lortat-Jacob, permits the flamenco *cante jondo* and the Rom *loki djili* to be analyzed together. At this point Leblon's examination becomes its most rigorous.

There are many traits common to *cante jondo* and the *loki djili* but to isolate what belongs to the Gypsies and Gitanos one must identify what distinguishes them together from European musical traditions and what does not link them to Oriental traditions. Here "oriental" is understood in a very broad sense, covering Indian as well as Arabic music. After having examined the monodic conception, the predominance of free rhythm, the conception of modes and scales, the intonation and style of interpretation, strophic form and melodic structure, style of words and themes, Leblon arrives at "pegs and pauses." "Pegs" refers to embroidery, melism, an addition which appears purely ornamental but which in the end breaks the established form and imposes another, entirely new one. "Pauses" refers to suspension, "caesura," a rupture introduced between elements which the peasant tradition links.

Thus the examination of the "fascinating" genesis of flamenco, this expression forged secretly within the silence of nearly two centuries, leads to an assertion at least as fascinating, and one which should interest "Gypsiologists" as well as "flamencologists." What unites Gitanos of Spain and Rom of Central Europe is silence. Silence characterized, in the *cante jondo* as well as the *loki djili*, by its position "within a word, generally before the final syllable of the last word of a verse" (p. 150). Knowing that the place of common origin has disappeared from the

memory of Gypsies, it cannot disturb us to encounter silence as a term of analysis applied to the discovery of common traits in different Gypsy expressions.

The foremost quality of Leblon's work is to transmit the author's passion for his subject to the reader. So he will not be shocked (at least this is my reaction) to encounter in the course of an otherwise rigorous and documented analysis a paragraph of lyrical flight where the author cannot keep himself from imagining and painting, as on pages 41 to 42, a scene for which he has no model, or simply to declare his love of flamenco. For Leblon lets us know that he was an admirer of this music before becoming an analyst of it. Taking it as an object of science does not prevent it from bowling him over.

The author's rigor is compromised by some slips in the bibliographic citations. The works of Lortat-Jacob from which the considerations of the "long song" are taken are mentioned neither in footnote nor bibliography. Similarly, pages 68 and 89 lack references to works used in the argument.

Leblon's analysis marks a step forward in the study of flamenco. It will no longer be possible to take the role of Gitanos in the genesis of this art as secondary. However, his attention is perhaps too narrowly focused. From the musicological viewpoint, it is focused on the *seguedilla-seguiriya* sequence, because it exhibits particularly clearly the passage from a regular song characteristic of Western folklores to a "long," irregular song of the oriental type. It is possible that looking at other categories of song (for example, those of the mining regions of Andalusia) would lead to a different clarification of the role of Gypsies in the genesis of flamenco. From the historical and geographical viewpoint, it is focused on the lower Guadalquivir valley, because it is there that there is the greatest evidence of Gitanos' playing a preponderant role. By doing so, Leblon skims somewhat rapidly over a phenomenon whose importance he nonetheless notes, the *cafes de cante* where, first in Seville and later in other large cities, in the mid-nineteenth century, Andalusian professionals interpreted flamenco. It is through their influence that the "embers buried in the Gypsy forges," to use Leblon's image, became the emblem of the whole of Andalusia. One point must draw the attention of those interested in Gypsies. In this case it is the non-Gypsies who play the role of diffusers while the Gypsies cultivate a creative hearth within a limited geographical boundary. With this "Andalusian miracle" we find ourselves in the presence of an exceptional phenomenon, a Gypsy invention becoming the privileged expression of a native population.

Notes

¹In 1965, in his introduction to the *Antologia del Cante Flamenco y del Cante Gitano*, Emilio Gonzales de Hervas, after considering the thesis of the Indian origin of the Andalusian Gitanos, prefers others.

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Patrick Williams, CNRS, 27, Rue Paul Bert, 94204 Ivry, France, is an anthropologist whose research has included Parisian Rom social organization, French Manuš religion and social change, and the life and work of jazz musician Django Reinhardt. [S. Salo, trans.]

Destroying Ethnic Identity: The Gypsies of Bulgaria. *Theodore Zang and Lois Whitman*. New York: Helsinki Watch, 1991. A Helsinki Watch Report. 73 pp. (paper).

Carol Silverman

This Helsinki Watch Report is an excellent survey of discrimination against Gypsies in Bulgaria focusing on the post-communist period (1989-present), but also containing valuable information on the communist period (1944-1989). Data were gathered from several hundred interviews conducted in 1990-1991 and from government documents. Authors Zang, a lawyer, and Whitman, deputy director of Helsinki Watch, while not area specialists, have done a painstaking job of survey and compilation.

For the first time in any language we have a systematic treatment of the institutional oppression of Bulgarian Gypsies, a subject which officially could not

be studied until the fall of Todor Zhivkov's totalitarian regime in November 1989. Yet even after 1989, the problems of Gypsies continue, unaddressed by local and national governments. Indeed one concludes that discrimination against Gypsies was not caused solely by the communist regime; every Bulgarian government to date (monarchy, communist, socialist, opposition) has promoted discrimination at worst or neglected discrimination at best.

The monograph is strongest in exposing the living conditions of Gypsies today: inferior housing, health care, sanitation and water supply, unpaved streets, lack of access to private land, and so forth. Schools in Gypsy neighborhoods are also inferior and children are channeled into technical training which precludes higher education. City by city descriptions of housing and education present a grim picture of Gypsy life. The interview quotations are a stark glimpse of the deplorable conditions. I hope that the interview tapes and transcriptions will be available for analysis by scholars and activists.

The monograph is less thorough in the areas of employment, media, politics, and the military. The alleged involvement of Gypsies in the "black market" is neither analyzed nor historicized. The formation of the Democratic Roma Union is briefly described, but the complex contemporary social scene, including the fact that a majority of Gypsies voted for the socialists in the 1990 election, is not discussed.

This reviewer is extremely grateful that such a report exists and encourages Helsinki Watch to sponsor reports in other East European countries, as it now has for Romania (Cartner 1991), especially since the post-1989 situation reveals scapegoating of Gypsies. As an anthropologist and folklorist, I would have liked to see more information on cultural life, for instance, ritual, and more analysis of the relationship between Gypsies and Bulgarians, for example, why is there a high rate of truancy among Gypsy children? Why do Gypsies have the lowest status occupations? But this monograph does not claim to analyze, and its data are a valuable contribution in their own right.

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Cartner, Holly. 1991. *Destroying Ethnic Identity: The Persecution of Gypsies in Romania*. New York: Helsinki Watch.

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Information for Contributors

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- Kenrick, Donald, and Grattan Puxon. 1972. *The Destiny of Europe's Gypsies*. London: Heinemann.
- Mayall, David. 1988. *Gypsy-Travellers in Nineteenth-Century Society*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
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- Salo, Matt T., and Sheila Salo. 1982. Romnichel Economic and Social Organization in Urban New England, 1850-1930. *Urban Anthropology* 11(3-4):273-313.

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Ethnic Identity Among Gypsy Groups in Bulgaria

Elena Marushiakova

This paper attempts to clarify the complex problem of the internal structure of the Gypsy ethnos in Bulgaria. A typology of the current ethnonyms of particular Gypsy groups is presented. The groups are classified according to adherence to principles of endogamy, isolation, interrelations, stage of development, degree of acculturation, display of group taboos, and so forth. Gypsy ethnic identity is analyzed on the basis of this classification. Finally, the reasons for differences among groups are analyzed.

In Bulgaria, a country with great ethnic variety, one ethnic community, Gypsies, stands out. According to the latest statistical data, from May 1989, the total number of Gypsies in Bulgaria is 576,927 (Komitetat sa UNICEF 1991), though this figure should be accepted with some caution, because it seems too low. Until recently Gypsies were a taboo subject for Bulgarian humanities scholarship and for journalism. A small number of scholars from western countries have taken an interest in Bulgarian Gypsies (Gilliat-Smith 1915-16; Kenrick 1969; Silverman 1986). Although some Bulgarian scholars have studied Gypsies, not all their works have yet been published, and thorough investigations of the Gypsies in Bulgaria remain to be done.

In the eyes of the Bulgarian population all Gypsies are a monolithic mass, and their internal structure is unfamiliar even to specialists because of a lack of sufficient and topical information. The question of Gypsy ethnicity is important for ethnology in general and for the branch of scholarship dealing with Gypsy issues in particular. Almost all scholars working in this field mention different divisions of the Gypsy

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ethnos, designated as tribes, groups, and so forth.¹ Still there are only a few specific investigations on the importance of the groups and the functioning of the boundaries between them (see Salo 1979).

This article is based on field research conducted from 1975 to 1980 with the groups of Grastari and Hungarian Kelderari living everywhere in Bulgaria, several families to a village, as well as with the group of Sofia Yerlii. These investigations continued after 1985. I have done other field research with Gypsy groups on the Thracian plain, in Pirin Macedonia, and in the region of Vratsa. I have also done short-term research in some large Gypsy ethnic neighborhoods, or *mahali*, in Samokov, Pazardzhik, Plovdiv, Sliven, Razlog, and Bansko.² I have used data from other regions as well. But the study does not claim to be exhaustive; there are still a number of blank spots in research on Gypsy groups. The primary aim of the investigations has been to demonstrate the presence of different Gypsy groups and to point out their characteristics and preservation, as well as some particulars of their system of holidays and rituals. The research has been done mainly through observation and conversation with informants on these topics.

This article aims at describing Gypsy ethnicity in Bulgaria. Naturally, I record what the Gypsies themselves think of their ethnicity. I attempt to deduce and systematize the information supplied by Gypsies and to give necessary explanations. For greater clarity the article is divided into three parts. In the first I illustrate the variety of Gypsy groups by means of their self-appellations. The ethnonyms of the different groups enable us to turn to the problem of multiple Gypsy self-identities. The second part is an attempt to characterize the various groups and to point out the considerable differences among them. I support the conclusions of the first and second part by an analysis of ethnic identity among the different groups. Finally I outline the main reasons for the great differences observed. Neither the question of the relationships and hierarchy among the different Gypsy groups, nor of their relations with the neighboring population will be dwelt on. These topics will be touched on when it is necessary to give an explanation or illustration. A separate study should be devoted to them.

Gypsies in Bulgaria are not a homogeneous whole. There is an internal division into groups and subgroups. The cover term for all groups used by the surrounding population is "Gypsies" (*Tsigani*), and most Gypsies have indeed accepted this term, together with "Roma," as their self-appellation. Many Gypsy groups have their own ethnonyms, others use names given to them by the surrounding population or by other Gypsy groups, while for others the ethnonym is absent. The present ethnonyms of Gypsy groups in Bulgaria can be classified into eight categories.

1. *Ethnonyms reflecting the way of life of the group and sometimes their possessions as well.* To this group belong some of the names of settled Gypsies, Yerlii, from Turkish 'local, living in one place'; and of the travelers, Kardaraši, from *Kelderari* 'tinsmiths'. The latter are sometimes called Zlatari (from Bulgarian, 'those who wear gold jewels') by the other groups, because they are extraordinarily fond of collecting gold coins and necklaces made of gold coins, which are heirlooms, and use every opportunity to add new ones to their collections; as well as because of their passion for having gold teeth.

2. *Ethnonyms determined by religion.* These are typical of the Balkan Peninsula and are a result of combining religious and ethnic consciousness. These ethnonyms express a desire to belong to the macrosociety or to another society. They express the ethnic bias and preference of the group. For example, in Bulgaria there are Dasikane Roma 'Bulgarian Gypsies' who are Christians, and Khorokhane Roma 'Turkish Gypsies' who are Moslems. To some extent these ethnonyms reflect typical beliefs about the way of life of these groups, though these beliefs are not always correct. For example, Turkish Gypsies are considered to be sedentary and Bulgarian Gypsies, nomadic.³ There are two categories of Turkish Gypsies in Bulgaria, Moslem Romani-speaking Gypsies who probably adopted Islam in Bulgarian territories or in neighboring non-Turkish-speaking countries; and Gypsies who speak Turkish, at least some of whom came to Bulgaria from Turkey, and thus belong to ethnonym type 3. In the past few years many Turkish Gypsies who used to speak Romani at home have begun using Turkish at home and as a means of interethnic communication. Among the Turkish Gypsies there are both Sunnites and Shiites.

The ethnonym "Turkish Gypsies" may also reflect some memories of a past religion later abandoned. There are groups of Christian Orthodox Turkish Gypsies and Catholic Turkish Gypsies. A recent event is the formation of separate groups of evangelical Turkish Gypsies. A group of evangelical Gypsies has originated among Bulgarian Gypsies as well.

3. *Toponymic ethnonyms connected with the idea of a common group origin.* In this case Gypsies do not use the name of their real land of origin, which they have long since forgotten. They have accepted the name of a legendary land of origin or of the country or region where they lived for a long time and which exerts a strong influence on them, that is, the place where the group was formed, changed, or separated from the rest. For example, Agoupti, Gupti, from 'Egypt'; Vlaški, or Rumunski Tsigani, 'Wallachian', or 'Romanian Gypsies'; "Serbian," "Hungarian," "Greek Gypsies," and so forth.

4. *Ethnonyms expressing connection with regions, localities or towns where the group used to live or is currently living.* These self-appellations can be

considered variants of toponymic ethnonyms. Such names are for example Kotlenski Tsigani, Gypsies from the town of Kotel, or Kutkadžii, from the Kotel Romani *kutka* 'here' (Kenrick 1969:13); and Gradeški Tsigani, Gypsies now or originally from the town of Gradetz.

5. *Ethnonyms based on specific occupations.* These are the most frequent and typical names, which however are being supplanted by other, more general ones. Some of the ethnonyms mentioned in earlier literature are remembered only by old people, such as Kalburdžii 'sieve-makers', and Hasardžii 'rush-carpet makers'. Others no longer use a specific occupational name, but a more popular definition. For example most of the various groups who process iron call themselves Burgundžii 'gimlet makers', while names like Demirdžii 'iron workers', and Nalbandžii 'horseshoe makers' are almost forgotten. Here it is necessary to remark that those Gypsy groups who bear the distinctive name of a given trade do not necessarily all practice that trade today (Gilliat-Smith 1915-16:4). For example inhabitants of the Gypsy *mahala* in the town of Lom call themselves Kalaidžii 'tinsmiths', but no one carries on this trade. Some group self-appellations are determined by their present occupations: Ursari or Mečkari 'bear trainers'; Maimundžii 'monkey trainers'; Lingurari 'spoon makers'; Kalaidžii; Grastari, the group of horse dealers and horse thieves probably related to the Lovari; Košničari or Sepirdžii 'basket makers', and so forth.

6. *Pejorative and deprecatory ethnonyms.* Most often these are well-known but seldom accepted as self-appellations. They are usually given by other Gypsy groups and reflect the ethnocentrism of the group, the belief of each group that it is the only real, pure, and original group, while all the others are considered much worse, lower in status and poor in quality. These ethnonyms typically reflect disgust and derision for other Gypsy groups. They also suggest a hierarchical order (which can also be seen in the fact that not every group has a pejorative ethnonym), and inequality among the groups. Examples of such ethnonyms among Bulgarian Gypsies are Tzutzumani, Kučkari 'dog eaters', Baičari 'pork eaters', Maršoiadtzi 'carrion eaters', etc.

7. *Patronymic and matronymic ethnonyms.* These are names based on the name of a real or mythical ancestor. They are very rare in Bulgaria, and not all Gypsy groups use them. They are generally used only in addition to other names, and specify membership in an extended or stem family community. These are ethnonyms like Vărbanešti 'Varban's children', Stankešti 'Stanka's children', Russanešti 'Russa's children', Žankašti 'Žanka's children', etc.

8. *Ethnonyms of unknown origin and meaning.* Examples are Fičiri, the self-appellation of the settled Gypsies in the Loznitsa *mahala* in the town of Stara Zagora; Zagoundžii, the ethnonym of Moslem Gypsies in the Provadia region; or of the Parpoulii Christian Gypsies, etc.

Almost everywhere these ethnonyms exist together with the general term *Tsigani* or have been supplanted by it. The meanings of the different self-appellations are not equivalent. For example, the appellation "Bulgarian Gypsies" includes several Gypsy groups (which means that it has subdivisions, specifying each group), while names like Stankešti and Vărbanešti stand for only a small part of one particular group, the members of an extended family. The ethnonyms of the different groups reflect the complex variety of the Bulgarian Gypsy populations.

It is extremely difficult to classify Gypsy groups in Bulgaria. Donald Kenrick divides Bulgarian Gypsies into two linguistic groups: 1) Vlax Gypsies who went north to Romania from the 14th century onwards and returned to Bulgaria after their liberation from serfdom in 1855; and 2) Non-Vlax Gypsies who remained in Bulgaria from their arrival up to the present (Kenrick 1969:12-13). Gilliat-Smith (1915-16: 4-6) divides Gypsies in northeast Bulgaria into 1) Sedentaries (Moslems and Christians, both with internal subdivisions according to their specific occupations); and 2) Nomads (divided in the same way into Christians and Moslems and, on another level, according to their occupations).

Some ethnographic and sociological research works divide Bulgarian Gypsies into urban (that is, living in ethnic quarters or *mahali*, resembling ghettos) and rural (living in brick houses in a separate part of the village, two or three families per village) (Dimitrov and Chakalov 1980).

The present situation of Gypsy groups has changed to some extent from that reported in earlier research and now exhibits some combination of the earlier categorizations. All Bulgarian Gypsies today are sedentary. Some abandoned the nomadic life centuries ago. Others began to settle down in the beginning of this century and can hardly remember a nomadic life. Still others were nomads until 1958, when a decree forbidding nomadic life was issued (Bulgaria. Council of Ministers 1958). We can observe considerable differences in the lifestyle, culture, customs and norms among these subdivisions of the Gypsy ethnos in Bulgaria. These parts are internally integrated to various degrees.

There is another major subdivision of the Gypsy ethnos in Bulgaria. These are the groups who lived longer in Romanian territories, were integrated with the Romanian ethnos to a greater extent, and may have merged with Romanians through intermarriages, lost their language and acquired Romanian (Marushiakova 1988).

Thus three main subdivisions of the Bulgarian Gypsy ethnos are formed: 1) Sedentaries, Yerlii, who no longer remember their nomadic past; 2) Nomads, Kardaraši, who traveled up to 1958; and 3) Romanian-speaking Gypsies, whom the other Gypsy groups also call Gadžikane Roma 'non-Gypsy Gypsies'.

Each of these three Gypsy subdivisions is internally divided into two or three levels according to the extent of the internal integration of their parts, larger or smaller endogamous groups, each with its own characteristics (Figure 1).

The settled Gypsies are divided into two groups, non-Vlax Gypsies who have been settled for centuries (see Kenrick 1969), and those who became settled following the law of 1886 (Kenrick and Puxon 1972:54) and later. The process of settlement of the second group ended in the beginning of this century. Probably some of these are of the Vlax linguistic group, and some non-Vlax.

Both subgroups are divided into a) Romani-speaking Turkish Moslem Gypsies, b) Turkish-speaking Moslem Gypsies, c) Turkish Christian Gypsies, and d) Romani-speaking Bulgarian Christian Gypsies.

On the next level these subgroups are divided into more or less endogamous groups according to their former or present specific occupations: Kalburdžii 'sieve makers', Grebenari 'comb makers', Sepirdžii or Košničari 'basket makers', Kovači 'blacksmiths', Kalaidžii 'tinsmiths', Hasardžii 'rush-carpet makers', etc.

Somewhat apart are the groups of mainly Turkish Gypsies living in ethnic neighborhoods who long since have forgotten their traditional occupations, do not observe strict endogamy, and have been making their livings for generations by doing odd jobs in agriculture or as factory workers, porters, and dustmen.

Another distinct group is the Agoupti or Gupti, blacksmiths who do not consider themselves "Roma." They probably belong to the first population wave which settled in Bulgarian territory. This ethnonym is mentioned in the Rila document of King Ivan Shishman (1378). Most of them have been assimilated (Primovski 1955).

The second main subdivision is the Kardaraši, Vlax Gypsies who were nomads until 1958. These are the groups of Grastari (Lovari) and two endogamous subdivisions of Kalaidžii, tinsmiths. These groups refer to themselves as Kardaraši or Kalaidžii. They are known in the literature as Kelderari; I will use the latter term. The members of one group of Kelderari do not remember where they came from before entering Bulgaria; the second subgroup is certain about its Hungarian origins. All three subdivisions are strictly endogamous, rigidly isolated, observe their ethnic characteristics strictly, are Romani-speaking, are Christian, and are internally divided into clans.

The third main subdivision is the Romanian Gypsies, "Gadžikane Roma," who consist of Lingurari or Kopanari 'spoon makers', Ursari 'bear trainers', and Maimundžii 'monkey trainers.' The last two groups have now merged into one.

Besides the subdivisions of the Bulgarian Gypsy ethnos mentioned above, there are other, smaller Gypsy groups who settle in the Bulgarian territory any time the frontiers are open, during and after wartime, for example the group of Greek Turkish Gypsies who arrived after the civil war in Greece, or the Romanian Gypsies, called Vlaški Tsigani or Lahoria, who arrived after the Second World War. A similar wave of Romanian Gypsies entered Bulgaria in the beginning of 1990.

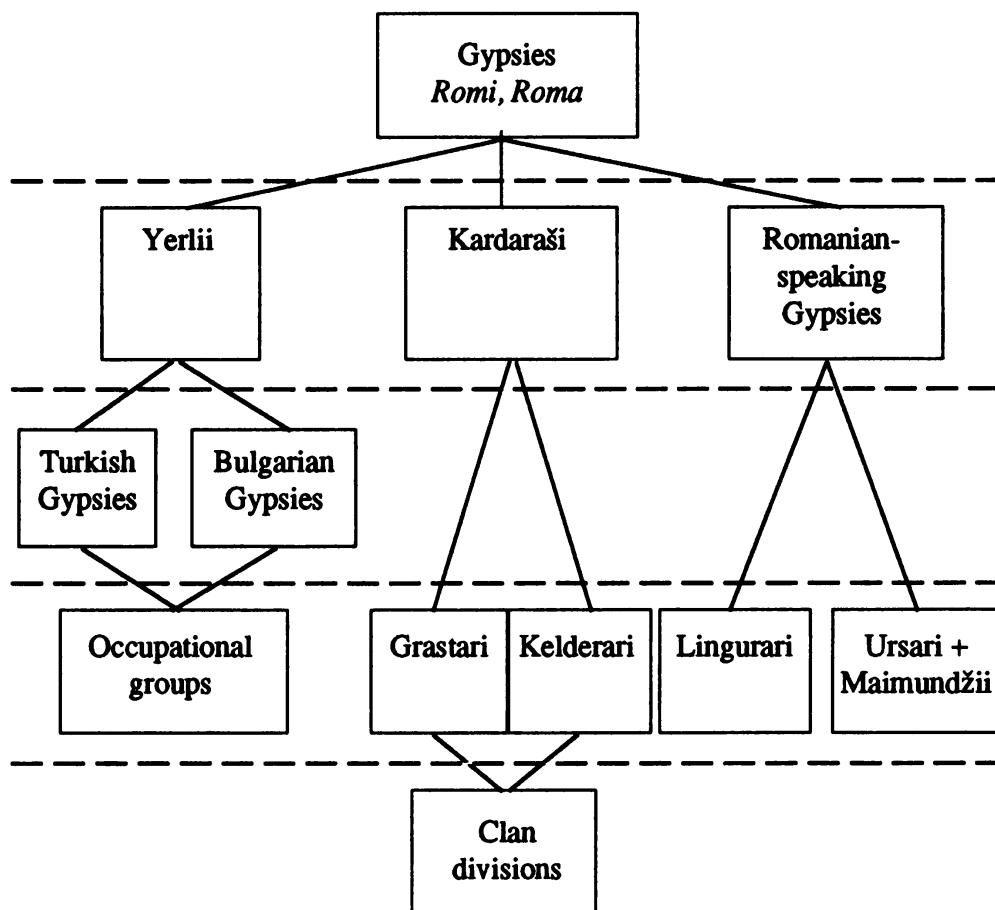


Figure 1
Bulgarian Gypsy group divisions.

Another example is presented by small groups which originated on the basis of intermarriages. These are the Džorevtsi, Journalisti, Bobove 'beans', Melali and Murtapi, mixtures between Bulgarians and Gypsies; Mežiri, a mixture of Turkish and Bulgarian Gypsies; and Žuti, a mixture of Jews and Gypsies. Neither party of an intermarriage is accepted by both communities, and thus they create a specific closed community. The next generation prefers to marry within the new community, they make friends mainly with others like them, and prefer to have them as neighbors.⁴ All three communities which have appeared as the result of intermar-

riage feel closer to Gypsies than to the non-Gypsy community represented in the marriage. They even feel socially uneasy and inferior in relation to the latter. I have observed that the marriages of Džorevtsi are formed mainly between Gypsies and very poor Bulgarians living in towns. The Mežiri are in quarters where Bulgarian and Turkish Gypsies live together. And the community of Žuti is the result of the resettlement of poor Jewish families and Gypsies in common places in the country during the Second World War.

And as Gilliat-Smith says, "I cannot claim to have discovered all the tribes. New subdivisions are for ever cropping up when one hopes one has come to the end of the subject" (1915-16:4).

It is not possible to differentiate among the various Gypsy groups only according to the languages they speak, their religions, lifestyle, and occupations, since there are many groups who share the same language, religion, lifestyle, and occupation, all of which are subject to change. The problems of the boundaries of ethnic groups are discussed from a theoretical point of view in the work of Fredrik Barth (1969), already a classic source in western Europe and North America, as well as in Bromley's monograph (1976), which until recently was most frequently cited in eastern Europe. According to Barth, "The critical focus of investigation...becomes the ethnic boundary that defines the group, not the cultural stuff it encloses" (1969:15). Likewise, Bromley wrote, "The availability of the 'we-they' antithesis is obligatory for the existence of ethnic groups" (1975:24). For Gypsies the opposition is on two levels; it is more important to distinguish one Gypsy group from another than from the majority ethnos. In order to clarify the present state of Gypsy groups in Bulgaria and to explain the union of some of them into larger meta-communities as in Figure 1, I think it necessary to characterize each Gypsy group by using a combination of ethnic, dialectological, and social features. In this way we can create an ideal hypothetical model of a Gypsy group with the following features.

1. Group and ethnic identity.
2. Only those individuals born within a group are considered members.
3. Strictly observed group endogamy.
4. Use of one language within the group (Romani or another group language, as with non-Romani-speaking Gypsies).
5. A common lifestyle in the past (sedentary or nomadic).
6. The same way of making a living (group occupation),
7. Presence of internal self-government in the group; the group has its own ruling bodies.
8. Strictly observed group rules and norms.

9. Unified, collective views of life (including religion), unity of essential values, the same social behavior, opinions, common moral principles.
10. A big family, a "powerful clan," considered of utmost value.
11. Limiting friendly relations only to members of the same group.
12. Mutual solidarity and obligatory mutual help.
13. Preserving the isolated and unique character of the group (there is a rule that the members of one group should not interfere in the doings of another).
14. Strictly observed group taboos (see Marushiakova 1985).

Of course, not all features listed above are obligatory for the ethnic existence of the group. The complete set of features is present only in the Bulgarian Gypsy groups of Grastari and Kelderari. If one or another feature is missing, the group is still ethnically distinguished from the surrounding population and from other Gypsy groups. The absence of some features signals that a process of adaptation is going on. When more features are absent, this is an indication of the process of ethnic consolidation or, in some cases, of anomie (Merton 1968:377). When none of these features is present we speak of the complete disappearance of the group and hence of its assimilation. Comparison of an existing Gypsy group to the ideal model helps us to define the degree of disintegration of its ethnic identity. The Gypsy group has a conservative influence on the lifestyle and behavior of its members. It defines their social norms and values by means of its socializing function and by the threat of expulsion.

To illustrate, I will try to characterize some of the groups investigated using the hypothetical model.

The group of Grastari, who also call themselves Serbian Gypsies, consider only the members of that group real Roma. All the other groups are regarded as poor, dirty, depraved Gypsies, who have nothing in common with the Serbian Gypsies. The Grastari are strictly endogamous; their main concern is to preserve the purity of blood. Intermarriages with the other groups, as well as with the surrounding population, are strictly forbidden. Early marriage and the unwillingness of the parents to allow their children to go far from home to get secondary or higher education, can be explained by their fear that exogamous marriages may occur outside the control of the group. In the past few years the Grastari have accepted their sons' marriages to girls from the kindred group of Hungarian Kelderari. Girls from the Grastari group, however, may not marry boys from other groups. The Grastari speak a Vlach dialect of Romani. In the past they were nomads. Today they live scattered in different villages, in big fired-brick houses. The women were and still are fortune tellers. The men used to trade in horses. At present they have nothing to do with horses, but still trade, mainly in gold and other scarce commodities. The Grastari group has its own governing institution, the *mešare*, analogous to the

better-known *kris*. The governing body is comprised of the eldest and most experienced men of the group, who settle all controversial questions within the group. Insignificant questions are settled without formalities; in more complicated cases a ritual is performed on a river bank, beside a burning fire, accompanied by an oath-taking ceremony over a cross of matches or cigarettes.

Within the group there exist a number of obligatory regulations and norms of conduct. The old people, for example, should be respected. The old woman, the grandmother, *phuri dai*, is high in social standing, and settles all questions concerning the extended family. All married children must consult her. She has the family funds at her disposal. The young bride must obey her mother-in-law. It is the duty of the group members to look after orphans belonging to the group. Girls must be virgins until they marry. The parents must arrange their children's marriages; they save money for the bride price, the *phuri dai* chooses the bride, and so forth.

All the members of the Grastari group are Orthodox Christians and observe the traditional rituals and holidays. They share the same criteria of what is right and what is wrong. The rituals of childbirth, marriage, burial, and memorial service must be observed. The extended family is highly valued by the members of the group. The descendants of the most powerful and numerous clan have supreme authority. A powerful clan stands for physical and financial strength. It has an impact on all spheres of life. Old men from powerful clans are invited to be members of the *mešare*. They can choose to whom to give their daughters and from whom to buy brides. In group gatherings they occupy the most prestigious seats and can speak without anyone's daring to interrupt them.

The members of the group are obliged to stay together and help one another, primarily in conflicts with the law, in which case the components of the obligation range from hiding from the authorities to committing perjury in court, and collecting money for bribes if necessary. The members of the group are also obliged to help one another, including financial help, in case of serious illness. The breaking of these rules results in a critique before the *mešare* and, in particularly serious cases, in expulsion from the group. The rule of non-interference in the affairs of other groups is strictly observed as well. The affairs of another group are of no interest to the Grastari. They would not interfere even if a conflict between members of other groups took place before their eyes. It is also improper for the Grastari to belong to political and cultural organizations along with Gypsies from other groups.

The Grastari strictly observe the group taboos. They do their best to avoid the condition of *mahrime*, ritual pollution. The breaking of the *mahrime* rules results in expulsion from the group. The *mahrime* complex in Bulgaria is similar to that known from the literature about similar highly endogamous Gypsy groups (Ficowski 1985, Sutherland 1986). However, in Bulgaria, in contrast with Poland, there is no cleansing after breaking the taboo (Ficowski 1985:194).

In contrast with that of the Grastari, the structure of the Yerlii group from the town of Sofia has undergone considerable change. This group identifies itself as Khorokhane Roma or Dasikane Roma. Its members feel closely related to the other settled Gypsies in Bulgaria. Intermarriages with other sedentary Gypsies are considered permissible. Marriages with Bulgarians and Jews are also permissible, though not desirable. Only marriages with Kardaraši and "Gadžikane Roma" are strictly forbidden.

The Yerlii have their own dialect which is difficult for the other groups to understand. The members of the group make their living doing unskilled labor in town; they are cleaners, porters, and factory workers. The old people remember the now obsolete division of the inhabitants of the *mahali* into subgroups of Četkari 'brush-makers', Tsvetari 'florists', and Vaksadžii 'shoe shiners'. They have no form of self-government. The general norms and regulations are restricted to the celebration of some holidays and the performance of some rituals, the obligation of the grandmother to bring up her daughter's children in case of divorce, and the obligation of the bride to be a virgin when she marries for the first time.

There are manifestations of religious syncretism in the group. In the past they were Moslems and called themselves Khorokhane Roma. The most recent generation has been converted several times. Best remembered are the forcible conversions in 1942, the change of Turko-Arabic ("Moslem") names to Bulgarian ("Christian") names in 1962, and the banning of the Moslem holidays in 1984 and later. The group has forsaken a number of holidays and rituals in the last ten years. Transformations have taken place in the framework of cultural conduct; a new, simplified model has been built. A characteristic of the Sofia Yerlii is a sense of ethnic inferiority which often manifests itself as aggressiveness or as an aspiration for assimilation at any cost.

Within the group, family relations are maintained in a three-generational framework, but there are no contacts within the wider extended family. The rich family rather than the large one is respected. The rules of mutual solidarity are limited to not aiding the authorities and a ban on cooperation with the police, as well as an interdiction against committing crimes within the group. A Yerlia Gypsy can rely on group members to hide him from the authorities for short periods. The rule of non-interference in the affairs of other groups, including the kindred Džorevtsi and Žuti, is observed. At the same time, mutual membership in Gypsy organizations and political activity together with the other settled groups is desirable. The Sofia Yerlii do not know the *mahrime* concept.

For the sake of brevity, the state of the some of the groups investigated is shown graphically in Table 1, in which + stands for the presence of a certain characteristic compared to the ideal hypothetical model of a Gypsy group, - for its absence, and 0 for its reduction or transformation.

Table 1
Group characteristics compared to ideal hypothetical model.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Grastari	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Hungarian Kelderari	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	0
Yerlii from Sofia	+	+	0	+	+	-	-	0	0	-	0	0	0	-
Burgudžii from Plovdiv	+	+	0	+	+	-	-	0	0	0	+	+	+	-
Zvānciri from Dolna Banja	+	+	+	+	+	0	-	+	+	0	+	+	+	+
Košničari from Boljartsi & area	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	0	+	0	0
Agupti	+	+	-	0	+	0	-	0	0	0	-	0	0	-
Lingurari	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	0	0	0	-	0	0	-

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The empirical data show that endogamy is still present among Bulgarian Gypsy groups. The basic ties are still those of clan relations. The group still has a crucial role in the biological reproduction of Gypsies. The essence of endogamy remains unchanged, although among some groups, most often those settled in urban *mahali*, we can observe a weakening of the norm, a widened range of possible partners and tolerance. This may lead to some growth of the group, as is the case with the Lingurari, who prefer to take Russian wives and make them join the group, or to the formation of a new group, the case with Mežiri, Džorevtsi, and Žuti. The boundaries of endogamy are presented in Figure 2.

At the same time another typical feature of the group is the flexibility of its elements, which has in fact helped to preserve the group and the ethnic characteristics of Gypsies throughout the centuries. Such flexibility is shown when the group no longer chooses the occupation of its members, but still regulates the degree of education; when it is no longer the sole socializing factor, but takes an active part in the upbringing of the individual (Horváthová 1964:360). The considerable flexibility and adaptability of the group is also expressed by the higher degree of Gypsies from many groups, as well as by the fact that even when some Gypsy families are forced to live elsewhere, these qualities appear again in other circumstances.

The group organization has been modified under the influence of the macrosociety as a result of a shorter or longer existence in a differentiated environment. Contradictory results arise when inter-group features in some Gypsy groups are weakened. On the one hand the weakening of traditional norms and group control enables a part of the group to become emancipated, to separate itself from the community and become assimilated by the surrounding population. On the other hand the loss of traditional features causes anomie of cultural and social values, leads to indifference and resignation, and increases a sense of ethnic inferiority and social distance from the surrounding population and from the ethnic community.

The Gypsy group and the presence or absence of essential characteristic features influences the ethnic consciousness of its members. The ethnic identity of Gypsies is extremely complex and multilayered. The only clear-cut distinction is that between "our people" and "strange people," where "our people" are solely the members of the same group, and all the rest are "strangers," both the surrounding population and other Gypsy groups (Mróz 1986). The kindred Gypsy groups are neither relations nor strangers. They occupy a place somewhere between the two categories. The Hungarian Kelderari, for example, say of the members of the Grastari group, "They are almost like us, we are not the same, but they are good, pure Gypsies as well. They keep their language and purity, they are rich, cultivated people."

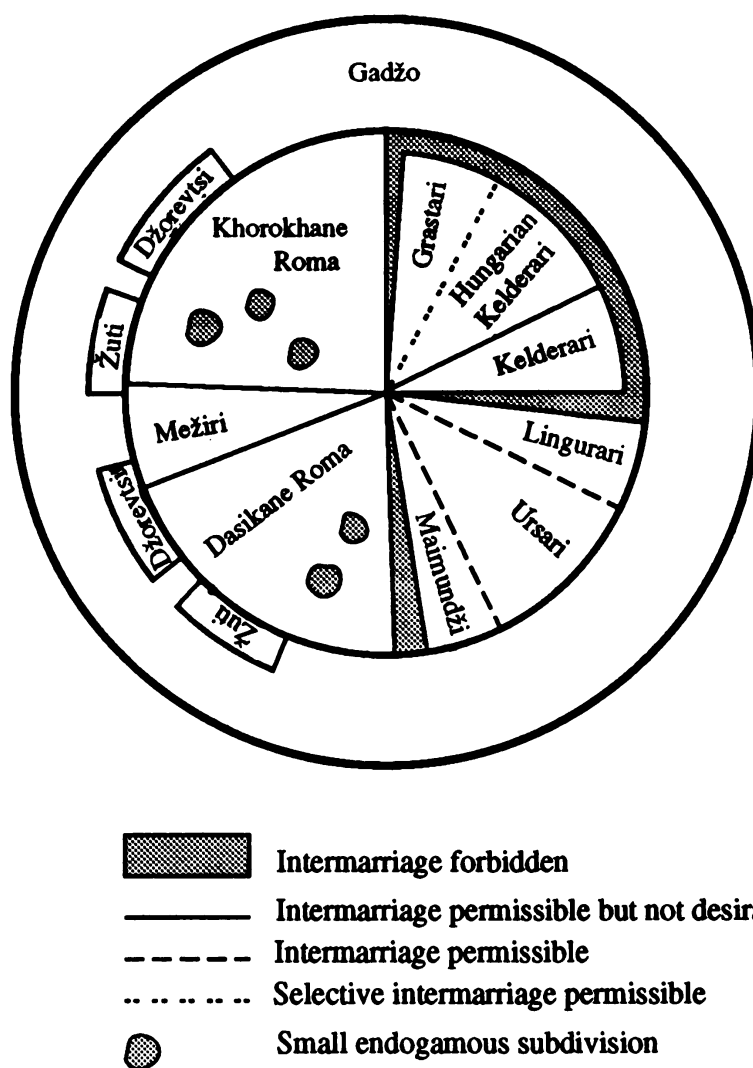


Figure 2
Boundaries of endogamy.

Gypsy ethnic identity is closely related to the division of Gypsies into groups and to their past history, both of which determine the extreme complexity and variety of its manifestations. This is one reason that even the most conscientious census never gives an exact picture of a Gypsy population in the country.

In fact, the basic model of Gypsy ethnic identity is a three-layered hierarchical structure: 1) Sense of belonging to one's own group; 2) Membership in the Gypsy community as a whole; and 3) Adopted ethnic identity.

According to the specific group membership and under different cultural and historical conditions, different levels of this structure can overshadow others, but without completely suppressing them. The most common variant occurs when the consciousness of group membership as a manifestation of the most important ethnic characteristic occupies first place. A natural basis of such an identity is the degree of preservation of the features of the ideal model of the respective group. The closer to this model, the more clearly expressed is the priority of group ethnic identity. When the group is vital and abides strictly by its role as defender and regulator of the conduct and relationships of its members, they form a clearly expressed conscious unity. The Grastari and Kelderari are such groups. The situation of groups that have preserved a number of their group characteristics and whose traditional occupations are still prosperous and do not compete with the surrounding population is similar. In this case the isolation of the group is also accepted by the surrounding population (cf. Barth 1969: 19). The Košničari 'basketmakers', Zvânčiri 'bell makers', Pečkari 'oven makers', etc. are examples.

The self-consciousness of belonging to one's own group is also present in the groups of settled Gypsies. They have already forgotten their traditional trades and their group structure has undergone considerable change. But here identity is on the level of a larger community, the metagroup. For example, the descendants of the Hasedžii 'rush carpet makers', the Sitari 'sieve makers', or the Podkovači 'horse-shoe makers' can hardly remember their own group subdivisions and identify themselves as Khorokhane Roma or Dasikane Roma.

The second level in the hierarchy of Gypsy ethnic identity, unity within the framework of a Gypsy community, should be defined more precisely. The concept of unity of the entire Gypsy community has been formed slowly and with difficulty over the course of centuries. A major factor in this respect has been the attitude of the surrounding population which has always regarded the Gypsy groups as a single entity. The concept of unity of the entire Gypsy community in Bulgaria exists only to a very limited extent and is subordinate to the consciousness of group or metagroup membership. Only in isolated cases can this identity become dominant. A manifestation of such consciousness is the obligation of the members of one group to hide a member of another if he is prosecuted by the authorities, although they would never have welcomed him under normal conditions. Gypsy unity is most

often demonstrated by the pan-Gypsy intelligentsia united in local and international organizations. This demonstration of Gypsy unity, however, has no actual influence on the Gypsy population and as a rule does not represent its views.

In some cases we can see manifestations of Gypsy ethnic identity combined with the feeling of membership in the set of the minorities of the country. This is revealed in conflicts with the surrounding population and with the law, when the rule of pan-Gypsy solidarity is activated; when they can benefit from it in some way; or, among the weaker groups, as an ethnic inferiority complex.

Most striking are the cases where the first two levels of Gypsy identity are overlapped and even obliterated by a third level, the adopted ethnic identity. Most often the adopted ethnic communities represent the respective countries in which the Gypsies have lived or now live or, in the case of multiethnic countries, certain ethnic minorities within them. Here two lines of development should be differentiated. These two lines can, however, intersect or even merge. The first is the claim of false ethnic membership made to non-Gypsies for social prestige or material benefit. The second is a tendency to real change in ethnic identity, that is, a gradual complete assimilation of the Gypsies to the adopted ethnic community.

The first line was widely practiced on the Gypsies' first appearance in central and western Europe in the Middle Ages, when they presented themselves as kings from the country of Little Egypt. Similarly, today some representatives of the Gypsy intelligentsia from the Lingurari group in Bulgaria try to show that their group descends from the ancient Lydians or Ligurians. But sometimes the ostentatious demonstration of false ethnic membership becomes part of the real ethnic identity. Such is the case of "Romanian Gypsies" in Bulgaria.⁵

Somewhat different is the situation of quite a few of the Turkish Gypsies in Bulgaria who demonstrate Turkish ethnic identity, as well as with particular individuals among the Bulgarian Gypsies who declare themselves Bulgarian. A strong connection between group structure and consciousness is manifested here. The weaker the group, the more incomplete its set of characteristic ethnic features, the stronger is the adopted ethnic identity. For example, some Turkish and Bulgarian Gypsy groups have lost their own ruling bodies, they do not have self-government, do not observe group rules and norms, have forgotten the taboos, their isolation and endogamy are less strict, the traditional occupations have been more or less forgotten. The members of those groups, though conscious of being Gypsies, are obviously trying to present themselves as something different. It is not by chance that the Yerlii are strongly influenced by and join Protestant sects, mainly of the Pentecostal Church, who make them feel better, superior, and help them abandon their marginal position. Here we have a blend of ethnic and religious identity. A tendency to change ethnic identity is not unusual for minority groups occupying the lowest stratum of society and having the status of outcasts. The weaker groups lack

the security provided by the well-functioning Gypsy group. "Thus their problem is reduced to a question of escaping the stigmata of disability by dissociating with the pariah community and faking another origin" (Barth 1969:31).

The ethnic identity of the various groups determines their degree of ethnic activity. Ethnic activity is strong only within the boundaries of the group. It is centrifugal, directed to the center of the group. In other words, by means of endogamous marriages, by observing the rules and norms, the group tries to preserve itself and its ethnic features. The efforts are solely internally oriented. In no group can we observe the development of ethnicity directed to the outside. There are no aspirations to develop their own ethnos, to popularize their values, not only in relation to the surrounding population, but also in relation to other Gypsy groups. The fact that the Gypsy group is isolated from its social environment, the general population, means that its ethnic activity remains within its own boundaries.

But nothing is universal across all Gypsy groups. While strong groups try to preserve their ethnicity within the group only, weaker ones, mainly those of long settled Gypsies, make almost no effort in this direction. Moreover, they try to become integrated with the surrounding population. Only the Gypsy intelligentsia in Bulgaria who belong to the groups of long-settled Gypsies try to achieve some unification at least of the Yerlii, to preserve their ethnicity by various means from personal prosperity to seeking a place in national political life.

The diversity of the historical experience of groups of individuals, of their travels and their present situation, coupled with linguistic variation, has resulted in a wide range of cultural and social elements in each of these groups (Liégeois 1987:37). The reasons for the origin and development, as well as for the preservation of differences, are ethnogenetic and historical. The present social and political situation is also important.

The ethnogenetic reasons are connected to the origin of Gypsies and their place in the caste structure of India (see also Mróz 1987). There was probably a division into nomad and semi-nomad far back in the Gypsies' land of origin, which was later reflected in the division into sedentary and nomad in Europe beginning in the 13th and 14th centuries (Horváthová 1964:35, 76). Doubtless their supposed polyethnic origin is also of considerable importance. Perhaps its consequences are the physical anthropological differences still obvious in the groups. For example a group of Turkish Gypsies in Bulgaria, who live in the Kazulbaş Shiite region on the Thracian plain, resemble the Dravidian rather than the Indo-European type.

Gypsies did not come to Bulgaria at one and the same time; they came from different places, along different routes, and this is important for the present differences among the groups.

Another fact which has also contributed to preserving the differences among Gypsy groups is their rivalry throughout the process of their historical development.

It was natural to have two groups of craftsmen fight one another in the marketplace, because one village was too small for more than a single community of blacksmiths, basket makers, and so on. At the same time these groups of craftsmen had their enemies in the Grastari, for example, who, passing through the villages, cheated and robbed the peasants, making the general population hostile to all Gypsies.⁶

The group organization of Gypsy social life so preserved is an amazing repetition of the conservative features of Indian caste; the fourteen characteristics of the ideal model of the Gypsy group correspond completely with those of the Indian caste subdivision (*jati*) (Kucenkov 1983).

The present situation still has a positive influence on the further preservation of differences and hostility among groups, though on another level. The assimilation policy of the years of socialism in Bulgaria influenced many groups by increasing integrational processes which aimed at mixing some of them with Bulgarian, and others with Turkish ethnic communities.⁷ This has increased the population of the communities of anomic Gypsies who have lost their own culture and have not replaced it with another, who have separated themselves from the majority of settled groups under the influence of assimilation processes.

The present-day pressure of the mass media on Gypsies also has a divisive role, causing various groups to blame and reproach one another for turning public opinion against them.⁸

The migration of new Gypsy groups from neighboring Romania is still another addition to the existing Gypsy groups in Bulgaria.

Different political orientations, in support of the Union of Democratic Forces, the Bulgarian Socialist Party, or the Movement for Rights and Freedoms, and the existence of different Gypsy organizations also divide some of the settled Gypsy groups.

All these factors have only a secondary influence on the group structure. The group structure, with its strict regulations, the "Old Gypsy Tradition," is still the major dividing factor.

In the past the group was everything to the individual—his family, home, motherland. The person deprived of the right to group membership was most unhappy. A man expelled from the group was left alone in a hostile world. The identity of the Gypsy with his group is still very strong; expulsion is a tragedy, the most terrible punishment. Joining another Gypsy group leads to expulsion from the original one. All these factors show how very slight is the possibility of merging the different groups in Bulgaria into a complete whole. The emancipation of Gypsies, their unification, despite the efforts of a small Gypsy intelligentsia, seems unrealistic. It is obvious that the Gypsy group will play an essential role in the development and preservation of the ethnic characteristics of Gypsies in the future.

Notes

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¹I use the term "group" rather than "tribe" (Marushiakova 1989).

²These Gypsy ethnic quarters are enormous. For example the number of Gypsies living in the Gypsy *mahali* of Sliven alone is about 40,000.

³According to Paspatis (1870:13), Gypsies in the Ottoman Empire were divided into nomadic Moslems and settled Christians. In the course of time, however, considerable change has taken place. As early as the Ottoman period a portion of the originally Christian groups adopted Islam in order to raise their own status and become equal to the ruling neighboring population. Later, under the influence of the sedentarization process, catalyzed by laws and decrees requiring the settlement of nomadic tribes, a considerable part of the nomadic Moslems settled down and became part of the Yerlii category of Gypsies. After the abolition of slavery in Wallachia and Moldavia and later on every time the frontiers were open, groups of Gypsies, mainly nomadic Christians, flocked into Bulgaria. Thus the concept of Gypsies changed and now Turkish Gypsies are considered sedentary and Christian Bulgarian Gypsies nomadic. This change of stereotype was recorded in the literature as early as the period after the liberation from Turkish rule.

⁴For example, I met the Džorevtsi in their *mahala* in the Sofia quarter of Hristo Botev, the Žuti in their part of the Faculteta neighborhood in Sofia, and the Mežiri in the town of Pazardzhik.

⁵Here we most probably have real changes in self-consciousness, confused by the fact that the group language is Romanian, while the surrounding population identifies the group as Gypsies.

⁶There are records from centuries ago of such rivalry (Horváthová 1964:108-109). Similar conflicts occur today. For example, in May 1991, Romanian Gypsies burned down the Turkish Greek Gypsy quarter in the village of Podem. It seems that the reason for this conflict was a quarrel over land ownership.

⁷In the years of socialism the policy of assimilation was expressed mainly in changing personal names many times, banning customs and rituals different from those accepted as Bulgarian, prohibition of changing residence, forcible sedentarization, building of special vocational schools for Gypsy children which provide inferior education, etc.

⁸After a long period during which the word "Gypsy" was not mentioned at all in the mass media, mass attacks against Gypsies coincided with democratic changes in the country. Gypsies are described only as very rich, dangerous, and highly criminal. A consequence of the nationalistic hysteria kindled by the former communists, now called socialists, are the petitions by Bulgarians to banish the

Gypsies, as occurred in the village of Ivanovo; strikes of people who did not want to live near Gypsies, as in Plovdiv-Stolipinovo; a refusal by police to defend Gypsy families, including mothers, pregnant women and children, who had been banished from the village of Podem under the pretext that they were a criminal contingent; and appeals for cancellation of the moratorium on the death penalty, based on a perceived growing danger of Gypsy criminality. All this reinforces the ambition of some Gypsies to present themselves as part of another ethnos. This is also a reason why a number of groups take pains to differentiate themselves from other Gypsies.

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“Lambada” in Kosovo: A Profile of Gypsy Creativity

Svanibor Pettan

The thesis of this article is that Gypsy musicians adapt foreign tunes to their repertoire in a specific manner and to a degree which differentiates them from non-Gypsy musicians. This is demonstrated through the comparison of one Gypsy and one non-Gypsy version of “Lambada” from Kosovo to the prototype version. While the ultimate goal of non-Gypsies is to recreate a version as similar as possible to the prototype, Gypsies change musical parameters of the prototype in order to create a product more suitable to their audience and to satisfy themselves as musicians.

Introduction

In borrowing tunes across cultures, musicians may adapt them to their respective repertoires by changing any musical parameter—or indeed every parameter—and still maintain the identity of the borrowed tune. The manner and degree of change of musical parameters can be seen as measures of the musicians’ creativity. In order to demonstrate this process in the case of Gypsy musicians, I will compare the adaptation of a single, foreign tune, a “Lambada,” to the repertoires of both Gypsy and non-Gypsy musicians of Kosovo.

Musical Life in Kosovo

Until recently, Kosovo was an autonomous province of the Yugoslav republic of Serbia; by June 1992 it had ceased to be autonomous and had become a virtual part of Serbia. The province has a rich ethnic mix of Albanians, Serbs,

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Muslimans¹, Turks, and Gypsies, among others.² Each of these ethnic groups has its own distinctive musical culture, and also shares some characteristics with other ethnic groups in particular areas of Kosovo. All musical cultures in the province have been affected to various degrees by Turkish musical practice, as a result of five centuries of Ottoman rule in Kosovo. Turkish music is highly valued and performed by many Gypsy musicians.

Gypsies serve as professional musicians for all ethnic groups in Kosovo, including their own. They have created a multi-ethnic repertoire performed on various instruments within diverse types of ensembles suitable to different audiences. For instance, thick shawms and large cylindrical drums are played for Albanians and Muslimans from rural mountainous parts of southern Kosovo, brass bands perform for Serbs in the rural plateaus of eastern Kosovo, while amplified ensembles resembling rock bands perform for Gypsies in urban settings throughout the province. Some musicians specialize in one of these media, while the others participate in two or more, serving different audiences.

While Albanians for the most part perform Albanian music, Serbs perform Serbian music, and Turks perform Turkish music, Gypsies not only perform their own music and that of other ethnic groups within Kosovo, but also the music of neighboring countries, remote countries such as India, and, indeed, any tune that they consider attractive, whatever its origin might be. It is this musical openness that seems to be one of the principal characteristics of Gypsy musicians. As Mevrut Arifi, a Gypsy musician from Titova Mitrovica, says, "Gypsies are the best musicians because they play music of all nations. We are universal and international."

Unlike non-Gypsy musicians, many Gypsy ensembles in Kosovo play a number of tunes in sequence, without a break.³ In such cases, tunes are often incomplete and their formal structure is changed. Gypsy musicians sometimes play variations on a selected recognizable motif from a particular tune, occasionally inserting improvised sections which are motivically independent of that tune. Such a form is more characteristic of performances by shawm-and-drum ensembles and brass bands rather than of amplified ensembles. It is also more characteristic of music performed at rural outdoor feasts rather than of music performed in urban sites such as bars.

Gypsy musicians are appreciated by their audiences for the manner in which they perform various musics. In literature, "Gypsies were either hailed as the most authentic interpreters of peasant music or else condemned as corrupters of the folk music of the hosts" (Silverman 1983:2). Regardless of how one interprets Gypsy musicianship, the fact is that Gypsies adapt a foreign tune for local consumption.

Lambada: A Case Study in Adaptation

"Lambada" has been known for decades as a dance genre in north-eastern Brazil. However, the actual tune to which I refer in this article is the Bolivian song "Llorando Se Fue" (He Left Crying), composed by the brothers Gonzalo and Ulises Hermosa (Riding 1990:16). The promotion of this tune was initiated by Frenchman Olivier Lorsac and the Kaoma ensemble which first performed it at the 1988 Paris music festival. Kaoma comprised seven Brazilian, French, African, and Caribbean musicians, joined by eight dancers at public performances. By 1990, the tune had become the biggest selling hit in European record history (Searles 1991:6).

"Lambada" reached Kosovo through the media. In 1990, it was frequently broadcast several times a day on radio and television. In addition, records and tapes were available in stores. Since "Lambada" came from a cultural context which had little or nothing in common with Kosovo, one can ask what made it so appealing to Kosovo population. According to the interviews I was able to conduct with members of most ethnic groups in the province, it was the pleasant tune and attractive music video that contributed to the popularity of "Lambada" in Kosovo. The dance, which was crucial to the promotion and success of "Lambada" in the West, had a rather limited impact on Kosovo audiences. The visual motif showing a dancing couple subtitled "Lambada" was used on T-shirts, cigarette lighters, and other saleable items; the dance movements themselves, however, were found too sexually explicit to be imitated. Therefore, members of various ethnic groups in Kosovo danced to "Lambada" in their traditional communal open circle formation known as *horo* or *kolo*. Gypsies danced to "Lambada" either as the *horo* outside the house, or as *čoček*, the female solo dance, inside the house.⁴ Gypsy musicians frequently performed "Lambada" for all audiences, at weddings, circumcisions and other feasts in Kosovo.

"Lambada" is just one of many such tunes in the music of Kosovo. I selected it for analysis because of the traceable model and availability of multiple versions, both non-Gypsy and Gypsy. The fact that all performers used Kaoma's version as the prototype is important for understanding what and how much of the tune they changed in the process of adaptation.

Members of traditional non-Gypsy ensemble types in Kosovo consider foreign tunes unsuitable to their styles and instruments as well. Albanian and Turkish musicians in particular claim that they cannot play tunes such as "Lambada" on their long-necked lutes (*çiftelia*, *sharkia*; *saz*). As a result, the non-Gypsy "Lambada" versions I was able to collect were performed by Muslims and Serbs who performed in amplified ensembles. On the other hand, Gypsies, who use more

varied instruments than any other ethnic group in Kosovo, perform “Lambada” and other foreign tunes on most of the instruments, within various types of ensembles. They do not consider the technical limitations of an instrument as a reason for not performing a tune. The Gypsy versions that I was able to collect in Kosovo are performed by a variety of ensembles, both traditional and modern. The traditional ensembles include: shawm (*zurla*) and drum (*goč*); brass bands; *čalgija*, featuring clarinet (*klanet*), accordion (*harmonika*), goblet shaped drum (*tarabuka*), and frame drum (*def*). The “modern,” amplified ensembles feature: synthesizer (*sintisajzer*) and/or electronic accordion (*elektronka*), saxophone (*saksafon*) or *klanet*, banjo (*džumbuš*) or amplified guitar (*gitara*) and bass guitar (*bas*), and *tarabuka* and/or drum kit (*džez*).⁵

Musical Analysis

The difference between Gypsy and non-Gypsy adaptations of a tune may be understood in terms of instrumentation, form, melody, rhythm, harmony, tempo, and lyrics. For this comparison, I selected one Gypsy and one non-Gypsy version of “Lambada” from Kosovo (out of a total of twenty-five versions collected in Kosovo and elsewhere in Europe), and compared them with the prototype version.⁶ These two versions are sufficient to demonstrate the conclusions that I reached through the study of all “Lambada” versions accessible to me at the time. Nevertheless, although the *manner* of change in the selected Gypsy version is representative for most Gypsy versions, I have to state that the *degree* of change in this version is greater than in other Gypsy versions.

The ensemble that I call “non-Gypsy” consists of five Muslimans and one Serb. The ensemble that I call “Gypsy” includes Gypsies whose native languages are Albanian and Romani (Arlija and Gurbet dialects). Both ensembles are amplified and specialize in performing at local weddings and other parties. Both originate in suburban villages and serve urban audiences. The non-Gypsy ensemble is based in the Prizren area in the south of Kosovo, while the Gypsy ensemble is located in the area of Istok in the western part of the province.

Instrumentation

Kaoma: ⁷	Synthesizer	Accordion	Solo guitar	Bass guitar	Drum kit	Voice
Non-Gypsy:	Synthesizer	Accordion	Solo guitar	Bass guitar	Drum kit	Voice
Gypsy:	Synthesizer	Accordion	Shawm	Banjo	Tarabuka	(Voice)



Gypsy ensemble of Muharem Pajazitaj from the village of Rudes near Istok (Pajazitaj is to the extreme left)
Instruments, left to right: zurla, sintisajzer, džumbuž, tarabuka, harmonika.

The non-Gypsy ensemble comprises the same instruments as Kaoma. The Gypsy ensemble employs local instruments. In Kosovo the shawm and banjo are played exclusively by Gypsies, while tarabuka is used by Gypsies and Turks. Although a singer is a regular Gypsy ensemble member, the Gypsy version of "Lambada" is instrumental.

Form

The Kaoma version of "Lambada" consists of three distinctive sections, marked for the purpose of analysis as A, B and C. The sections are of different size and duration. Section A lasts 3 measures; section B, 4; and section C, 2 measures. Each of these sections is immediately repeated. If not indicated otherwise by a number in parentheses, each section lasts as specified above.⁸

Kaoma:	I(2)	AA BB	AA BB	AA BB	CC	
Non-Gypsy :	CC		AA BB	AA BB	CC CC	
Gypsy:	C F(4) C F(4)		AA [1]		CC	

Kaoma:	BB AA	BB CC BB	CCCCCCCCC
Non-Gypsy :	AA	BB CC BB AA BB	CCCC
Gypsy:	BB AA(2) S(18)	CC AA BB	H(20) [4] Z(16)

The non-Gypsy and Gypsy version share two features in terms of form: elimination of Kaoma's introductory section (I), and reordering subsequent sections. Otherwise, the non-Gypsy version resembles Kaoma's version, while the Gypsy version differs from Kaoma's version in the following points: (1) One section is shorter (section A appears to be shorter at one point for a measure); (2) One section is not repeated (section C is not repeated the first two times it appears); (3) New sections are added, (3.1) of a formal character (F, repeated at the same length) and (3.2) of an improvisatory character (S, H and Z, appearing once each with *ad libitum* length); and (4) there are "empty measures" with no melody (marked with brackets).

Melody

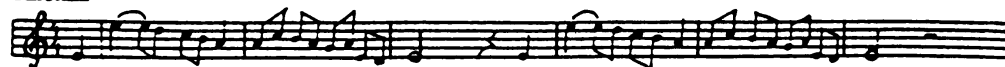
I will compare three renditions section by section. The melodies of sections A and B are performed differently by different members of the Gypsy ensemble, thus the separate transcriptions marked Z (for *zurla*, shawm), S (*sintisajzer*, synthesizer), and H (*harmonika*, accordion).⁹ They are followed by transcriptions of the Gypsy version's "formal" melody (marked F in the analysis of form) and scales extracted from the improvised melodies (marked S, Z and H in the analysis of form). Note that in the following musical transcriptions Kaoma's and the non-Gypsy version are transposed for the interval of a perfect fifth up, in order to avoid the use of accidentals and to enable comparison with the Gypsy version which is transcribed according to its absolute pitch.

The melody, as performed by the non-Gypsy ensemble, resembles Kaoma's version. The Gypsy version differs considerably: (1) Some tones are omitted, changed, and added; (2) Ornamentation is added; and (3) New melodies are included in the arrangement. What can be described as repetition in the prototype and non-Gypsy versions, appears to be modified in the Gypsy version (compare melodies in sections A, B, C and F).

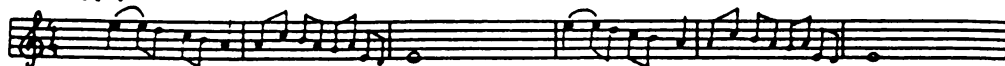
Of particular importance in the Gypsy version are improvised melodies within sections S, H and Z. Gypsies in Kosovo call such an improvised melody a *taksim*. In Turkey and Arab countries, the term *taksim* refers to a soloistic instrumental improvisation that can stand alone or be used either as a prelude or interlude, or both, within a group performance. *Taksim*, taught exclusively as an improvisatory melody in the middle and rather exceptionally at the beginning of a composition, is the central point of Gypsy performance in Kosovo. The performance of *taksim* brings respect to a Gypsy musician from his colleagues, and creates excitement in the audience which honors the player by giving him a tip (*bakšiš*). As documented by the scales of the melodies outlined in sections S, H and Z, Gypsy musicians changed the melodic mode of the composition while performing the *taksim*.¹⁰

Section A

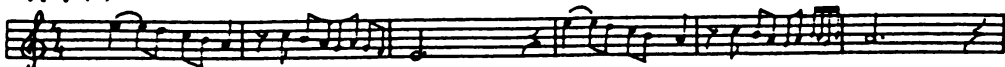
Kaoma:



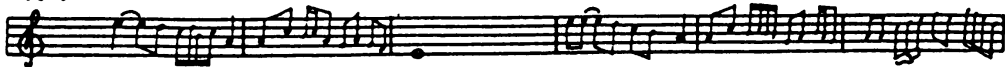
Non-Gypsy:



Gypsy (Z):



Gypsy (S):

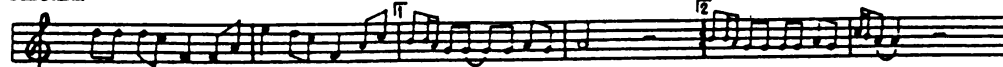


Gypsy (H):

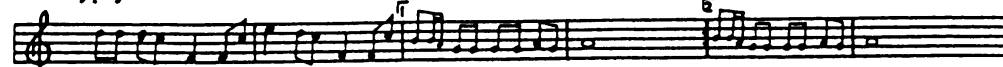


Section B

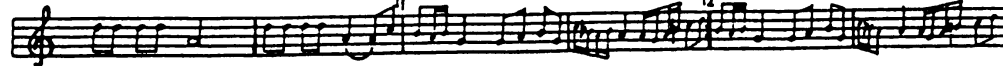
Kaoma:



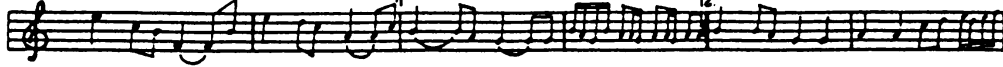
Non-Gypsy:



Gypsy (S):

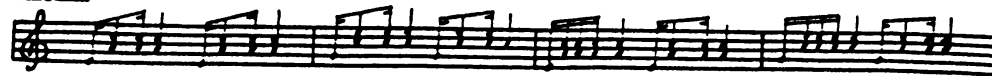


Gypsy (H):



Section C

Kaoma:



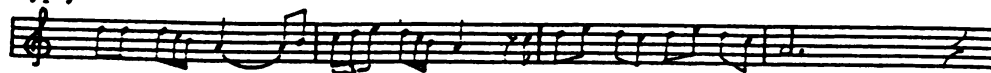
Non-Gypsy:



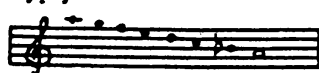
Gypsy:

**Section F**

Gypsy:

**Sections S, H, Z (scales)**

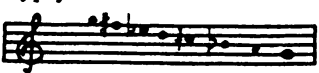
Gypsy:



Gypsy:



Gypsy:



Rhythm

The meter in all three versions can be presented as 4/4. Within this common metrical framework the ensembles developed the following rhythms.¹¹



The rhythm of the non-Gypsy version can be described as a simplified variant of Kaoma's rhythm, though with distinctive accents on the second and fourth beats. The rhythm of the Gypsy version is different in character. Dynamism is achieved through accentuation of different parts of the beats. The rhythm in the Gypsy version is dense. For instance, the basic unit of the pulse in Kaoma's version is an eighth note; in the non-Gypsy version, it is a quarter note; while in the Gypsy version, it is a sixteenth note.

Harmony

In the following tabular presentation, capital letters indicate major chords and lower case letters indicate minor chords. This observation applies only to Kaoma's and the non-Gypsy versions, since there are no chords to indicate the distinction between major and minor in the Gypsy version.¹²

	Section A	Section B	Section C	Sections F, S, H, Z
Kaoma:	a- FG C-	d- d- G- a-	a- C-	- - - -
Non-Gypsy:	a- FG C-	d- d- G- a-	a- C-	- - - -
Gypsy:	a - a - a -	a - a - a - a -	a - a -	a - a - a - g -

Harmonic progressions in the non-Gypsy version fully resemble harmonic progressions in Kaoma's version. In the Gypsy version, there are no harmonic progressions, although instruments such as synthesizer and accordion could accommodate it. While one instrument (shawm, for instance) provides the melody, the other instruments provide the drone by holding or repeating the pitch (accordion), repeating a short melodic formula (synthesizer), or by making occasional melodic moves subordinated to the starting pitch (banjo).

Tempo

Kaoma:	♩ = 120
Non-Gypsy:	♩ = 120
Gypsy:	♩ = 132

The tempo of the Gypsy version is faster than of either Kaoma's or the non-Gypsy version. The rhythmic density of the Gypsy version contributes to the aural impression that the tempo is faster than it actually is. Only in the Gypsy version is there an increase in tempo towards the end of the piece.

Lyrics

Kaoma's version of “Lambada” contains lyrics in Portuguese. This unusual language left three options to Kosovo musicians, to sing unintelligible words, to create lyrics in one of the local languages, or to perform the tune without singing.

Kaoma:	lyrics in Portuguese
Non-Gypsy:	lyrics in Portuguese
Gypsy:	none

The singer of the non-Gypsy ensemble performs “Lambada” in Portuguese. In fact, he imitates the syllables as performed by Kaoma without understanding their meaning. The Gypsy ensemble transformed the tune to the instrumental idiom.

Through the comparison of adaptations of one non-Gypsy and one Gypsy version of “Lambada” to the respective repertoires, I have indicated that in all six musical features the non-Gypsy version resembles Kaoma's version more closely than does the Gypsy version. Gypsies do not consider their use of local instruments an obstacle to the adoption of foreign music originally performed on different instruments. They are likely to change the form of the prototype version while adapting the tune to the rest of their repertoire. I have demonstrated that the Gypsies enriched their version with improvisatory sections which are essential to their performance of any music in Kosovo. Each member of the Gypsy ensemble who performed the melody modified it in a personalized manner, with no exact repetitions. Specified modifications of the melody make the “Lambada” akin to the rest of the Gypsy repertoire in Kosovo. The Gypsy drummer transformed the foreign rhythmic pattern to the locally recognized style of dense drumming with changeable accents. Instead of the foreign harmonic concept, Gypsy musicians

employed a drone which they use in Kosovo on regular basis.¹³ Accelerated tempo and abandonment of unintelligible lyrics are also specifically Gypsy manners of adaptation of a tune to their repertoire.

Conclusion

My comparison of Gypsy and non-Gypsy versions of “Lambada” from Kosovo suggests that Gypsy musicians adapt a tune to the repertoire in a manner and to a degree different from that of non-Gypsy musicians. Gypsies handle a tune as raw material, out of which they tend to create a new product, their personalized version. In the process of molding the product, Gypsy musicians consider all musical features changeable. As Fadilj Sulejmani, a Gypsy singer from Uroševac, says, “Sometimes I hear a [live] performance or recording of a tune I like. Then I think that I can perform it better. So, I take the tape to learn the tune and change it according to my style.”¹⁴ Non-Gypsies, on the other hand, tend to imitate the prototype version. The ideals of Gypsy and non-Gypsy performers are opposite, the prototype version is considered the starting point by Gypsies, and the point of arrival by non-Gypsies.

By changing the prototype version, Gypsy musicians translate the form and content, which are foreign to them, to a system that makes sense for them and their audience. The same is true for lyrics. Confronted with a language, such as Portuguese, which is unintelligible to Gypsy musicians and to their audience, Gypsy musicians are more likely to perform the tune without singing, or to create a text in Romani or some other intelligible tongue, than to imitate the words they do not understand. Non-Gypsies are more likely to imitate the vowels and consonants of the prototype, regardless of incomprehension. What one author called “comic Gypsy misinterpretations of well-known songs” (Vukanović 1962:56) supports my speculation that Gypsies reject imitation as such and try to make sense of what they do. For instance, the fact that they changed the word “Marseillaise” into “Matraljez” (Fr. *mitrailleuse*, machine gun; see Vukanović 1962:57) means that they did not understand the foreign word and re-interpreted it into a familiar term.

Gypsy musicianship is to be understood as a balance between audience expectations and the musicians’ personal satisfaction. Naser Šaćiri, a Gypsy saxophone player from Titova Mitrovica, says, “In order to satisfy my audience I first have to satisfy myself. A well-performed *taksim* brings this satisfaction.” The importance given to improvisatory *taksim* in Gypsy performance in Kosovo reflects the importance of personal expression from the Gypsy point of view. Even in those Gypsy versions that do not contain *taksim*, the interpretation appears to be distinctive in terms of individual style. The origin and musical characteristics of the

tune are by no means an obstacle to acceptance of the tune. Through the process of adaptation two opposite goals have to be reached, (1) recognizability of the tune, expected by the audience, and (2) personal performance in terms of qualitative and quantitative modifications of the tune, to satisfy the musician himself.

In sum, my research supports Carol Silverman's interest in "any music Gypsies perform, regardless of origin" (Silverman 1981:2) and expands this point of view from the social context to the music itself. My evidence indicates that there are common, creative patterns of Gypsy musical thinking, which distinguish Gypsies from non-Gypsies. Therefore, I suggest further investigation of attitudes as a key to understanding Gypsy music and musicianship.

Notes

¹Muslimans are Serbo-Croatian speaking Muslims recognized as an ethnic group in former Yugoslavia.

²According to the 1981 population census the principal ethnic groups are Albanians (77.5%) and Serbs (13.2%), while Gypsies are the fourth largest ethnic group making up 2.2% of the total Kosovo population. However, since the misrepresentation of Gypsies in censuses is well known, it is reasonable to believe that their real number is higher than that suggested by census figures.

³The only non-Gypsy practice which is to a limited extent comparable to this is the Turkish art music's suite *fasıl* which includes a number of complete tunes performed in a sequence one after another.

⁴A similar distinction between the communal *horo* and solo *čoček* has been noted among the Gypsies in Skopje, Macedonia by Dunin (1971).

⁵Gypsies form similar ensembles all the way to Turkey. Some evidence has been provided by Peter Manuel (1988).

⁶I was able to collect Gypsy versions of "Lambada" from Bulgaria, Croatia, Czechoslovakia, France, Hungary, Macedonia, Poland, Romania and Turkey.

⁷Jon Pareles speculates that the accordion part in Kaoma's version of "Lambada" is in fact performed on synthesizer (Pareles 1990:C15). Also, the sound of foot-cymbal which creates a repetitive rhythmic layer is probably performed electronically. In addition, one should add conga or some other drum to Kaoma's instrumentarium. At concerts, the ensemble is joined by a saxophone player.

⁸I=introductory section (prototype version); F=new section of formal character (Gypsy version); S=new section of improvisatory character performed on synthesizer (Gypsy version); H=new section performed on accordion (Gypsy version); Z=new section of improvisatory character performed on zurla (Gypsy version).

⁹The vocal and instrumental performance of the sections differ from one another in Kaoma's and the non-Gypsy version. The difference is consistently perpetuated in both versions. Only the instrumental part is transcribed.

¹⁰In Near Eastern art music traditions *taksim* introduces the mode of the composition and has a tendency to stay within a single mode or closely related modes.

¹¹In Kaoma's version there are several rhythmic layers. The transcribed one is probably synthesized, while the other two are performed on bass-guitar (flow of eight notes) and drum-kit (short patterns which eventually occur at the ends of phrases).

¹²Note that the progressions in Kaoma's and non-Gypsy version are transposed d - B \flat C F - etc.

¹³Agim Beriša, a Gypsy musician from Mamusa, says, "Gypsies like melody, not chords. We prefer clean music."

¹⁴For instance, Sulejmani took the Turkish song "Dom Dom Kurşunu" as the basis for the title song of his first commercial cassette named "Break Dance."

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The Rom Migrations

Angus Fraser

The latter half of the nineteenth century saw a number of Gypsy tribes move out in all directions from the Balkans and Hungary. They called themselves Rom, and their major groupings now include Kalderaša, Lovara and Ćurara.¹ This upsurge has recently come to be linked increasingly with the emancipation of Gypsies from slavery in Rumania (Wallachia and Moldavia). Such a link appears to have become conventional wisdom. But it leaves unexplained the apparent chronology and pattern of the migrations and a number of the characteristics of those involved. It seems time to question such statements, on chronological, ethnographic and linguistic grounds, so that minds remain open to the possibility of an alternative causation and different points and times of departure.

Every so often, one finds in Gypsy studies that some proposition is taken up and repeated so many times that normal critical faculties are at risk of becoming lulled. It now appears to be considered axiomatic that the emancipation of the Gypsy slaves in Wallachia and Moldavia in the mid-nineteenth century led to mass migrations of Gypsies from the territories soon to be renamed Rumania.² This was the origin, it is argued, of the population movement which, later in the century, saw a number of Gypsy tribes spring to international prominence, as some of their members began to spread out in all directions from the Balkans and Hungary. These tribes called themselves *Rom*. It will be convenient here to continue to refer to them as *Rom* in order to distinguish them from the Gypsies whose ancestors had preceded them westwards centuries before, and also from certain other groups who moved out of the Balkans at about the same time. These latter were Rumanian-speaking Gypsies whose *Romani* had for the most part been lost, known by such names as *Boyaš* (gold-washers), *Rudari* (miners) and *Ursari* (bear-leaders).³

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There are, of course, plenty of other groups in central and eastern Europe who would now apply the same designation, "Rom," to themselves, but for present purposes the word will be used in the more restrictive sense just described. The major Rom groupings, with names based on an occupational nomenclature, are well known to everyone concerned with Gypsy studies. Today, they are found in almost every European country, as well as the Americas and elsewhere. They include *Kalderaša* 'coppersmiths', *Lovara* 'horse-dealers' and *Ćurara* 'sieve-makers'. They speak closely related dialects of Romani, despite the differences of vocabulary and pronunciation that have crept in.

Some Statements on Rom Origins

The widely canvassed explanation of the scale and cause of the upsurge appears not to have arisen from any contemporary claim by the Rom themselves, but to have been put forward much later. It is noteworthy that, when Matéo Maximoff began to write about the *Kalderaša* of Montreuil-sous-Bois, he observed, "I can testify that none of my own ancestors ever served as slaves, but always enjoyed their full liberty. For they came from Hungary and not Rumania" (1947:37). Later he made this remark about the *Lovara*: "The Lovaria also form part of the Kalderash group. We call them the Hungarians, for, during two centuries, from the middle of the seventeenth to the middle of the nineteenth century, they had made a stay in Hungary" (1955a:3). In the same year, he published a novel describing the progression of a band of Rumanian Gypsies in the mid-nineteenth century, under their young chief Isvan, from slavery through outlawry to final emancipation (1955b), and subsequently explained, "My great-grandfather, to whom I gave the name Isvan in my book *The Price of Freedom*, was the head of those Kalderash tribes which migrated to Russia around 1860" (1959:12).

It seems to have been in the 1960s that the link with emancipation began to find favor generally. Jan Kochanowski wrote, "The Vlach Gypsies come from the former Danubian principalities, Wallachia and Moldavia, where for centuries they were subjected to the most inhuman slavery.... As soon as the Gypsies had obtained their freedom, they abandoned Rumania en masse, fearing that they might be taken into slavery again" (1963:86). Very similar statements, with no more in the way of supporting data, can be found in subsequent works published by writers in a variety of countries, such as Vaux de Foletier (1970:29, 1981:115); Tipler (1971:3); Cohn (1973:29); Vossen (1983:58); Williams (1984:418-9); Günther (1985:9-10); Ficowski (1985:81, 1990:32); Liégeois (1986:45, 1987:19); Hancock (1987:37); and Kaminski (1987:329). The theme common to all is that, when slavery was abolished in Moldavia and Wallachia, "waves" or "great numbers" or "great

hordes" of freed Gypsy slaves fled the principalities and embarked on far-reaching migrations; and today's various Rom groupings derive from that diaspora. Kaminski goes further and surmises that, at the time they left, "they were already subdivided into three distinct dialect groups: Kalderasha, Lovara and Churara."

Events Leading to the Ending of Slavery in Moldo-Wallachia

If one looks for particulars of Gypsy life in Moldo-Wallachia during the centuries before emancipation, the literature is quite extensive, though some of it is repetitive (cf. J[ansen?] 1810; Kogălniceanu 1837, 1840, 1891; Poissonier 1855:45-64; Vaillant 1857; Bernard 1869; Colocci 1889:126-46; Gjorgjević 1908:223-4, 1929; Gaster 1923; Serboianu 1930:45-63; Potra 1939; Panaitescu 1941; Vaux de Foletier 1970; Hancock 1987:11-48; Beck 1989; Crowe 1991). No more than a brief account of the slavery imposed on Gypsies is called for here. It may be helpful to start by drawing a distinction between the concepts of serfdom and slavery. Serfs were bound to the land: if a lord sold his land, the serfs were passed on to the new landlord. A slave, on the other hand, was legally owned by his master and had no freedom of action or right to property; the slave was in effect a chattel, to be bought or sold. Gypsies underwent serfdom in a number of countries, e.g. Russia and Transylvania. It was mainly in Rumania that they knew the condition of slavery, and even there some forms of their bondage were less restrictive than others, being more in the nature of a variation on the taxation system which was widespread in the territories subjugated by the Ottoman Turks.

The legal codes which governed Gypsy slaves in Wallachia and Moldavia during the first few decades of the nineteenth century differed but little in substance from the measures applied to them four centuries before. The system had developed over the years into a well-defined classification. On the one hand were the Gypsies of the Crown (in Rumanian: *Tsigani domnești*);⁴ on the other, the slaves owned either by monasteries (*Tsigani mândstirești*) or by boyars (*Tsigani boierești*).

The Gypsies who paid tribute to the Crown were divided into several classes: *Lingurari* 'spoon-makers', who made wooden utensils; *Ursari* 'bear-leaders', who were blacksmiths and tinkers besides training bears to perform tricks; *Rudari* 'miners' or *Aurari* 'goldsmiths', 'gold-washers', employed in mining and in washing gold; and *Lăieși*, 'members of a horde', with no fixed occupation and able to roam within the principalities. The *Lăieși* turned their hands to many things, particularly metal-working, while their women went from house to house telling fortunes and seeking alms. Some of the *Lăieși* were able to escape and form communities in the Carpathians; under the name of *Netotsi* they acquired a sinister reputation.

The real slaves, in the ordinary sense of the term, were the privately owned *Vătrași* (i.e., those from a *vatră*—a 'hearth', or household), who acted as grooms, coachmen, cooks and domestic servants to their owners; some might live in villages as barbers, tailors, cobblers or farriers. It was among the *Vătrași* that the best musicians were to be found. There were also some *Lăieși*, mostly smiths and comb-makers, in private hands. These paid their tribute to their owner—monastery or boyar—instead of to the State, the taxes being collected from them in the first instance by a Gypsy "judge" (*jude*), who passed the money on to a higher official, the *bulibașa*, directly responsible to the owner.

Mihail Kogălniceanu, a Rumanian reformer who campaigned for the emancipation of the Gypsies, estimated that they numbered 200,000 in Wallachia and Moldavia, the privately owned slaves being in the majority and representing some 35,000 families (1840:26).

During the Russian occupation of the Danubian principalities in 1828-34 some tentative moves in the direction of emancipation began to be made, only to be stifled. Public opinion might be changing, but the owners were not yet ready. The first decisive step was taken by Alexander Ghica, Voivode of Wallachia, who in 1837 liberated 4,000 families of Gypsies of the Crown and settled them in villages, where the boyars were charged with giving them work as peasants. Moldavia followed his example for Gypsies of the Crown in 1842 and *Tsigani mănăstirești* in 1844. Ghica's successor, Gheorghe Bibescu, educated in Paris, saw to it in 1847 that Wallachia's church slaves were also freed.

The boyars, however, stubbornly refused to capitulate. Just how deeply entrenched the practice was in Moldavia is shown by the fact that when some of the property of the late Minister of Finance, Aleku Sturza, was auctioned off in 1851 to pay his debts, his chattels included no fewer than 349 Gypsy slaves, men, women and children (Gaster 1923). It was not until 1855 that Grigore Ghica, Prince of Moldavia, felt strong enough to press for the removal of what he called "this humiliating vestige of a barbarous society," proposing also that the owners should be recompensed for the loss on their investments. He had his way and the buying and selling of human beings were banned for good; the compensation to be received by the boyars was fixed at eight ducats in respect of *Lingurari* and *Vătrași* and four for *Lăieși*, whether male or female, but nothing was to be paid in respect of suckling children and the infirm. Within a matter of weeks, early in 1856, Wallachia took similar steps. Complete legal freedom came in 1864 when, following the Crimean War, a new constitution was framed for the now united (but not yet independent) principalities which had been transformed into Rumania: Gypsies were, at least in principle, deemed to have the rights of Rumanian citizenship. No constitutional measure has ever dispelled the atmosphere of antagonism and prejudice created by their previous status.

The Course of Rom Migrations

That was the sequence of events which, according to the formulaic explanation now so commonly invoked, gave rise to a massive exodus of Rom. Subsequent movement had the effect of drawing them apart: those we know as Kalderaša, for example, tended to gravitate towards Russia, Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece, leading to subdivisions based on geographical distinctions, so that some Kalderaša became labeled in Romani as "Greeks," others as "Serbians," others as "Russians." Later, there was a more extensive movement westwards. Once these renewed migrations did pick up momentum, they resembled in some ways a re-enactment of what had happened four centuries before, and the reactions of western and northern Europeans—a mixture of curiosity and antagonism—were for the most part similar to those in the fifteenth century.

Since the chronological data are widely scattered in the literature, it is useful to synthesize them into a composite picture. In the early 1860s some of the infiltrators were to be seen in Germany and in Poland, where they sought to establish a dominant position among the Gypsies and even to create, in the Kwiek family, a dynasty of "kings" of Polish Gypsies (Ficowski 1985:78-107). From Poland, Kalderaša and Ćurara went on to Russia and Scandinavia. Some Rom with Austrian passports made their way in 1866 from Berlin to Belgium and then into France, but were soon driven back across the Franco-Belgian frontier (Vaux de Foletier 1981:116-7). The Coppersmiths who came to France the following year via Germany and Italy had fewer difficulties and were able to travel around in groups of 30, 40 or even 150, in open, four-wheeled, horse-drawn wagons, putting up enormous tents when they stopped for the night. Their ragged clothing contrasted with the mass of gold and silver with which they bedecked themselves. A party of Kalderaša made an incursion into England in 1868 and pitched their tents on the outskirts of London, where they were none too well regarded by English Gypsies (Thompson 1927). That was also the year in which the Netherlands began to receive groups of Coppersmiths from central Europe. The Dutch government looked upon them as a completely new phenomenon and rediscovered "Gypsies"; and for the general populace they were at first such an exotic novelty that they could charge for entry to their camps and still receive thousands of visitors (Lucassen 1990:67). Fresh bands of Rom reached France, again from Germany and Italy, in the early 1870s, attracting crowds of curious visitors wherever they went. The earliest mention of bear-leaders in the west comes at much the same time as that of the Coppersmiths, with reports from Germany in 1867 and the Netherlands in 1868. From 1872 bear-leaders were also to be found on the roads of France. The first came from Serbia and Bosnia with Turkish passports and had names like Galubavich,

Lazarovich and Mitrovich; those who followed in subsequent years had similarly Serbian names.

The party of 99 Gypsies—spoken of as “Greek” Gypsies—who arrived by train at Liverpool in 1886 came, according to their passports, from all parts of Greece and European Turkey, and also from Serbia, Bulgaria and Rumania; at least some of them managed to make their way to North America (MacRitchie 1886; Marchbin 1934). Some 10 years later there were reports of Ursari in southern Scotland and northern England, speaking a jumble of tongues; but in the first decade of the twentieth century it was principally Lovara from Germany who attracted attention in Britain (Holmes 1978). Similar events were reported in France, Germany and Switzerland. The biggest stir, however, was caused by the peregrinations of bands of Kalderaśa a few years later. They ranged over several countries of western Europe. In Britain, families with the names Choron, Kirpatsh, Demeter and Maximoff traveled around by train in the period May 1911-October 1913. They had recently discarded their wagons in France, but they still brought with them their capacious tents, and camped in various towns all over the British Isles (Winstedt 1913), adding a touch of oriental splendor to drab city waste-grounds. Much of the men’s time was spent in seeking out copper vessels to repair in factories, breweries, hotels, restaurants, and the like: their dexterity and workmanship were widely praised; their grandiose prices were just as widely deprecated.

Few of the new arrivals stayed in Britain. Some were on their way to the Americas; others eventually drifted back to the Continent. Those who crossed the Atlantic formed an important constituent of the Gypsy population, for such implantations of Gypsies as may have taken place in colonial times in North America seemed to have left few lasting traces.⁵ The pace of Gypsy movement to the US paralleled that of general immigration (Salo 1986). Mass migrations to North America from Europe started in 1815. Up to the middle of the century, over half the immigrants were coming from the British Isles, and it was in the 1850s that the arrival of Gypsies from Britain, whose descendants call themselves Romnichels, reached its highest point (Salo 1982).

In the 1880s, at a time when the American economy was booming, the general pattern of immigration to the US changed radically, with a pronounced shift towards the countries of southern and eastern Europe as sources. From then up to 1914 the newcomers to the US came mainly from Austria-Hungary, Italy, Greece, Russia, Rumania and Turkey. Some Gypsy groups joined in. The first appear to have been Rom from Austria-Hungary who landed at New York in 1881, followed by Ludar claiming Bulgarian and Spanish nationality in 1882 and a group of Austro-Hungarian musicians in 1883, these last being presumably among the earliest of the so-called “Hungarian-Slovak” Gypsies whose descendants are now referred to

generically by American Rom as the *Başaldé* 'musicians'. The Ludar were showmen, performers and animal trainers, and most arrived with their trained bears and monkeys; they generally declared Austro-Hungarian or Turkish nationality. (The designation 'Turkish' was at that time much wider in its European coverage than now, and was also still used to refer to territories which had recently been removed from the Ottoman empire, such as Bosnia-Herzegovina.) Most of the Rom, who had often embarked at North Sea or English ports, claimed Austro-Hungarian nationality, followed by Russian and Serbian. One of the Serbian groups that stands out in the figures is that which named their birthplace or last residence in Maćva county, to the west of Belgrade, giving rise to the Maćwaya tribal division.

Chronological Problems

One important point to note in all this is that Gypsies from eastern Europe were to a large extent simply sharing in a much more widespread population upheaval. There were a number of general factors contributing to the increased tempo of migration in the latter part of the nineteenth century, such as economic opportunities in western Europe and the United States, improved rail communications, and faster and cheaper sea travel. When one looks at what was happening in North America, the close parallel with general immigration trends—the Romnichels coming at the time of peak immigration from Britain, and the Rom and Ludar with the great wave of immigration from eastern Europe—suggests that, if there were any causes of emigration peculiar to Gypsies, they did not play a major role in their decisions to go. There is no need to postulate some specific event, like the ending of slavery in Rumania, to explain Rom migrations.

In any case, the chronology of these movements fits uneasily with the timing of the emancipation. Looking at the records, one can deduce that Rom had been spreading out spasmodically from the Balkans much earlier than the emancipation which occurred between 1837 and 1856. Already by the early nineteenth century, Gypsies referred to as "Hungarians" or "Coppersmiths" had acquired a reputation as international wanderers who sometimes went abroad for years at a time, perhaps to France or Italy, before returning to their native land (Borrow 1841: I, 13; Groome 1899: xxxv-xli; Winstedt 1913: 254-7). As for the Rudari, etc., even they showed signs of having lived outside Moldo-Wallachia long before the emancipation. In the early nineteenth century, and before, there is evidence of extensive movement of Gypsies across the Danube out of Wallachia into Serbia (Gjorgjević 1929; McFarlane 1951). Gjorgjević suggested that such movement was widespread as early as the seventeenth century, at times when Rumanians generally were migrating to Serbia in considerable numbers.

The doubts raised by these broad considerations are much reinforced when one looks at the antecedents (in so far as they have been recorded) of particular Rom families who came westwards during the early migrations, even though such reports are not automatically to be regarded as correct. The Coppersmiths who attracted a good deal of attention in 1911-13 in England described themselves sometimes as Russian, sometimes as Galician (that is, from Galicia in Austria-Hungary), sometimes as Ruthenian, sometimes as Hungarian; there was no mention of Rumania. Only one of them could speak any Rumanian, and she may have belonged to a different tribe before marriage. Of course, there had by then been plenty of time for recollections about the original homeland to have become blurred. But the memory of one of the oldest of the band which visited England did stretch back well beyond the time of the Rumanian emancipation: he was born in 1825, and said he had spent his youth in Russia (Winstedt 1913:257).

In order to get as close as possible to the earliest Rom migrations, one needs to look at the declared origins of those who came west in the 1860s and 1870s. For that, the most extensive data relate to the Netherlands and are to be found in the meticulous analysis of official immigration records by Leo Lucassen (1990). The earliest groups of Coppersmiths who came to the Netherlands in 1868-78 named Hungary as the country of their birth—and often it was not Transylvania but the plains in the western Hungarian heartland that they designated. From 1879 onwards, Hungary was still most commonly cited, but a much wider range of birthplaces was mentioned, including Germany, France, Spain, Italy, Scandinavia, Serbia, Bohemia, Russia, Belgium and the Netherlands. This no doubt reflected the geographical extension of the territories by then frequented by the Kalderaša, though perhaps there was an element of deception too, in choosing countries that might seem more acceptable to the Dutch authorities. In the records examined in Lucassen's survey, only two groups of aspiring immigrants at the Dutch frontiers appear to have cited Wallachia among countries of birth. (One did so in 1879, the other in 1904.)

Published data for other countries are more sparse. So far as Germany is concerned, there are only a few Kalderaš-sounding names in Dillmann's *Zigeuner-Buch* (1905), and for these the place of birth, when ascertained, appears to have been France, in the 1850s. That was also the case for several of the Kalderaša who visited Denmark in 1909, while another of the Rom in Denmark at that time was born in Budapest in 1843 (Miskow 1911).

The Lovara were later arrivals in the west. Those who came appear to have left Hungary and Transylvania around 1870, moving to Poland, Russia, Scandinavia and Bosnia and then, about 1900, to Germany and subsequently to other west European countries. By the time they came to the Netherlands—for which, once

more, Lucassen gives extensive data—in the first decade of the twentieth century, they had German passports.

As for the Rudari, etc., it was above all bear-leaders from Bosnia and Serbia who came west in the latter half of the nineteenth century, many of them from a fairly restricted region in north-west Bosnia (Dillmann 1905; Winstedt 1955; Lucassen 1990). As the century progressed, Bosnia remained prominent but other countries loomed increasingly larger.

Much the same kind of picture emerges if one looks at particular case-histories in North America. From passenger manifests, Sheila Salo has provided, for the purposes of the present article, details of the declared places of origin of Rom and Ludar who entered the USA in the period 1881-1934 and who were born not later than 1865. In practice the years of birth in this cohort range from 1827 to 1865. There are some difficulties in interpreting the data: the official forms did not follow a standard pattern, and birthplace details were not directly collected until about 1891; moreover, the information relating to the head of the family was often attributed to the entire family. But what is remarkable is that, for the 300 or so Rom and Ludar in this list, not a single report names Moldavia or Wallachia—or Rumania—as the place of birth or citizenship. The sole mention comes in a 1910 census manuscript schedule, for a female Ludar recorded as born in Rumania in 1843.

In the available demographic data, then, nothing appears to lend any support to the idea that there was a major outflow from Rumania in the 1850s.

Ethnographic Problems

A second set of possible problems can loosely be labeled “ethnographic.” Patrick Williams accepted the theory of the Rumanian slave origin of the Kalderaša, but felt obliged to add dubiously, “it is difficult to understand how the Rom... managed to be what they are today after so long a period of slavery”(1984:418-9). Others may find this equally difficult to understand, thinking perhaps of the effect slavery had on the customs of the African peoples shipped across the Atlantic or, more specifically, of intricate features of Rom social organization and family relationships like the bride-price, the *kris* and the *marimé* code. How does one account for their survival or emergence during centuries of slavery, when, as Kogălniceanu pointed out, “the sanctity of marriage and family ties was...made a mockery: the wife was separated from the husband, the daughter wrested from the mother, children torn from the breasts of those who brought them into the world, and sold to different buyers from the four corners of Rumania, like cattle” (1837:16-17; 1891:14)? It was particularly to the privately owned slaves, the Vătrași, that such

conditions applied, as distinct from the Lăieși, who had no fixed occupations and were able to roam within the principalities. But the Vătrași represented the majority of the Gypsy slave population, and from what little has been recorded even of the Lăieși, there emerges no trace of affinity between their organization and what we now know of that of the Rom.

Linguistic Problems

Coming finally to linguistic matters, one can, as so often before, deduce something of Rom history from the evidence of their dialects at the time when they first began to be recorded. In considering the origin of their migrations, one of the most important points to start with is that their Romani speech was heavily impregnated by Rumanian influences—hence their dialects have been termed “Vlach” (or Wallachian)—and they had obviously long been rooted in Rumanian-speaking lands. (That is not the same thing as saying that they had long been rooted in Rumania.)

All Rom dialects shared an abundance of Rumanian words and had taken over certain Rumanian constructions (such as the plural ending *-uri*, used with loan-nouns, and the substitution of Rumanian *mai* for the Romani comparative affix *-der*). But in differing degrees they also bore clear traces of Hungarian infiltration. This was much more limited in the case of Kalderașițska than of Lovarițska, which adopted a large number of Magyar words and began to follow the Hungarian stress-accent, while the Ćurari dialect remained somewhere between those two. It is impossible to be dogmatic about the length of time required for linguistic change, but it is extremely difficult to accept that there could have been such heavy non-Rumanian influence if there had not been a fairly protracted exposure to other tongues after the Rom removed themselves from the influence of Rumanian, or during the time when they were under its influence. (In multilingual regions, the degree of exposure to a given language could depend on the type of clientele with which the trades exercised by a particular Gypsy group mainly brought them into contact: in Transylvania, for instance, some would be more frequently dealing with Hungarian-speakers, by virtue of their livelihood, than others who might have arrived at much the same time.)

Even when one considers the speech of Rumanian-speaking Gypsy groups outside Rumania who had lost their Romani, severe problems of chronology can arise. The Rudari who became prominent in the latter half of the nineteenth century were by then using a Rumanian which included a strong element of Serbo-Croatian vocabulary; while the Boyași who are in present times found around Pécs in southern Hungary appear to employ an archaic form of Rumanian similar to that spoken

centuries ago in the Banat (Papp 1982). How they came to adopt it remains speculative (Acton 1989). None of the speculations appears to explain why the speech that they preserved was a variety spoken in the ethnically mixed region neighboring on western Wallachia (and now divided among Hungary, Rumania and Yugoslavia).

Rather than assume that mass migrations followed on the emancipation of Gypsy slaves in Rumania in the mid-nineteenth century, it seems more plausible to look outside the confines of Wallachia and Moldavia for a starting point. Rumanian was spoken well beyond the boundaries of those two principalities. It was spoken in the Banat; in the north-eastern part of Serbia; in western Bessarabia; and in much of Transylvania, especially in rural areas to the north of Wallachia. The censuses of the latter part of the century show that in that south-eastern corner of Hungary (as then constituted) there were some 10 counties in which the Rumanian population was as high as 60-90 per cent of the whole, while in about 8 others it reached 30-60 per cent. And Miklosich (1872-81) gives ample proof that Rumanian types of Romani had by his day spread all over those lands where the Rumanian idiom was spoken. Already in 1776, the pioneering author of the series of articles in the *Wiener Anzeigen*, a German-language Hungarian journal, noted that "in Transylvania the Gypsies who dwell among the Saxon people seldom speak German or Saxon, but Wallachian" (*Wiener Anzeigen* 1776 6[12]:96).⁶

It would take an expert in Rumanian dialects to analyze the regional differences that had grown up in the varieties of Rumanian spoken in those areas; but Rumanian dialect studies are no longer lacking, and there is an interesting and probably illuminating piece of research yet to be done in looking for regional overtones to the Rumanian loan-words set out by, say, Gjerdman and Ljungberg (1963). Quite a number of these loan-words seem to have been forms derived from Transylvanian dialects of Rumanian. In other cases, when a particular word is common to, but has divergent connotations in, different varieties of Rumanian, the meaning adopted by the Rom sometimes shows a regional bias. It seems significant, for example, that in Kalderaš Romani the Rumanian word *soba* is used to mean 'room', which is the sense it bears among Transylvanian and Banat Rumanians, in contradistinction to those of the former Wallachian and Moldavian principalities, who use it to signify 'stove'.

Conclusion

The aim of this paper has been to encourage a new degree of stringency in examining repetitive statements about the after-effects of the emancipation of Gypsy slaves and the increasingly held hypothesis that there were waves of Rom

billowing out from Wallachia and Moldavia as a result. Such a hypothesis is difficult to reconcile with the data we can laboriously gather in about the chronology of the movements of the early Rom wanderers, or their social organization, or the dialects they spoke. Once the Rom did begin to attract attention by their migrations, they had been living outside Rumania for some considerable time, to an extent that seems to diminish the relevance to their comings and goings of what was happening in mid-nineteenth century Rumania. That is not to say, of course, that the conditions in Wallachia and Moldavia may not, earlier on, have influenced the movements of some of their ancestors. (In the eighteenth century, for example, under the oppressive Phanariote regime, there was large-scale emigration from Wallachia, and between 1741 and 1745 the number of peasant families is said to have reduced by half; this led to short-lived attempts to better the plight of the peasants, though not that of Gypsy slaves.) But even if Moldo-Wallachia had been the ancestral home at some time in the past—a point that is certainly conceivable, but less than assured—it appears much more realistic to think of a gradual exodus from there, over a much longer period of time. Unfortunately, a good deal has to remain speculative in the present state of knowledge of the early history of Gypsies in the Balkans. So long as the emancipation in Moldo-Wallachia is regarded as an adequate explanation of the surge of Rom migrations, there is less likelihood of the complex historical dynamics becoming better established than they are now.

Notes

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¹In this article, *č*, *š*, and *ž* have phonetic values as in the alphabet adopted at the World Romani Congress of 1990, and are used in place of the *č*, *š*, and *ž* which have generally been the convention in the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*.

²When the new country Rumania was first formed, it did not include Transylvania, which remained part of the Austrian Empire.

³The designation "Ursari" seems, however, to be more of an occupational label and less of a tribal indicator than the others. Some Rudari might be described as Ursari because they had taken up bear-leading as an occupation.

⁴In order to convey the pronunciation of certain Rumanian letters, Rum. *ț* is here transliterated as *ts*, and Rum. *ș* as *ś*.

⁵See, however, Shoemaker (1929) for an account of the She-keners, claimed to have descended from a variety of strains of Gypsies who came to Pennsylvania from the early eighteenth century onwards.

⁶This anonymous writer deserves more credit than he has been given in the past for offering his readers more than stale crumbs of the then conventional wisdom. His series of over 40 articles published in 1775-76 (5[20]:159 to 6[21]:168, *passim*) has been overshadowed by Grellmann, who drew heavily on it for both ethnographic and linguistic material, including the claim of István Váli's linking of Romani with India.

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REPORT

Preparation for the Education of Gypsy Children in Bulgaria

Hristo Kjuchukov

This report describes a curriculum based on modeled and minimized speech used in special classes intended to prepare children whose mother tongue is the Gypsy language to learn literary Bulgarian. It presents the results of a test designed to determine readiness for formal instruction in the Gypsy language.

The Gypsy population in Bulgaria numbers about 800,000. Almost all the Gypsies lead a settled life and their children attend Bulgarian schools together with the Bulgarian children. That is why many of the Bulgarian Gypsy children are bilingual. But this is not true bilingualism. That is to say, the Gypsy children know very little or no Bulgarian before they start school.

During the years of the totalitarian system this problem did not receive the attention due it. That is why we did not have any publications in the psychological, educational, or linguistic literature. The process of democratization has brought this problem to the forefront. In the past 20 years very few works on the education of Gypsy children were published in Bulgaria. Those published treated the matter from a practical point of view and were meant for teachers only. We still do not have complete research on the problem of bilingualism.

During the 1990-91 academic year an attempt was made to compile complete documentation about bilingual children through the formation of preparatory classes in the schools and through the creation of a curriculum, methodological literature, albums, and cards (Kjuchukov and Janakiev 1991; Kjuchukov et al. 1990; Kjuchukov 1990, 1991).

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The aim of these preparatory classes is to prepare bilingual children who do not know Bulgarian to learn it. As the children in Bulgaria start school at the age of 6, those who can not speak Bulgarian enroll in preparatory classes instead of in the first grade classes. There for one year they learn to speak Bulgarian, get to know the alphabet and numbers, learn math and learn to read and write. The Bulgarian language and linguistic phenomena are learned through the model phrase and the communication-speech approach (Ejubov et al. 1984; Michailova et al. 1976; Mirkova 1974; Vladimirova et al. 1985). All this is of course consistent with the age of the children.

In the preparatory class the communication-speech approach requires the children to learn literary Bulgarian through and for communication. This means not only speaking Bulgarian in front of the children, but using words and sentences especially addressed to the child. The child must be placed in the role of an interlocutor of the teacher, his classmate, or classmates.

Teaching is done in connection with a particular topic and in particular conditions, that is, always in a particular conversational situation. Therefore the proper organization of teaching in the preparatory class demands that the teacher make use of and create situations which stimulate the participation of the child in communication in Bulgarian, corresponding to the topic of conversation.

In his work the teacher in the preparatory class uses all the natural conversational situations (in and out of school, in organized observation and tours) which enable the pupils to learn typical Bulgarian expressions and phrases. Real and imaginary conversation situations are used in teaching. For the creation of real conversation situations one must use facts from the real life of the pupils, from family and everyday life, from their social and natural surroundings. To initiate an imaginary conversation use is made of characters from fairy tales, imaginary meetings, tours, expeditions, and so forth.

In the preparatory classes the Bulgarian language is learned as a complex whole. The phrase, as a building unit of the text—the conversation or the monologue—lies at the basis of the learning of the language. A precise sequence must be followed: text - phrase or sentence - word - sound. The phrase or sentence is derived from the text and then work is done on its meaning and structure. From the phrase one derives the word which is the subject of the learning with its lexical meaning, its grammatical form, its correct pronunciation and its possible combination with other words. From the word one derives the sound, or combination of sounds, the articulation of which is the object of learning.

The six-year-old children enter the preparatory classes with the ability to speak the Gypsy language in their everyday life. To master the Bulgarian language as a medium of learning and communication they have to get to know its system,

its regularity, to develop in themselves the ability to combine the elements of Bulgarian in phrases or sentences which are typical of communication in a particular conversational situation, to be able to use these phrases in the process of real communication. Modeling and minimizing speech helps to attain these goals.

Teaching through modeled speech provides the opportunity to introduce the syntactic constructions typical of communication in Bulgarian systematically and purposefully into the consciousness of the children and into their speech. It enables the selection of those constructions which are suitable for the purpose of the conversation, for the age of the pupils, and for their level of ability to communicate in Bulgarian. The communication-speech approach requires simultaneously introducing communicational and stimulating constructions and also the models of expression of attitude and of feelings.

Each syntactic construction, each Bulgarian speech model functions through model phrases and sentences or phrases typical of communication in a particular situation, in connection with a particular object, topic, and so forth. Teaching based on these models makes it possible in a particular syntactic construction to replace words with the same function or the same use. For example:

What is this?

This is a tomato

an apple

a book

Teaching in modeled speech can be effective only if the speech skills of the children in Bulgarian are formed in various activities, but based on the minimum number of words, phrases, and syntactic constructions necessary for their formation. When we speak of minimizing we mean limiting the number of stories, songs, and games. Their number should correspond to the age and speech abilities of the children to enable them to learn not only the meaning, but also the language form, which should not be a barrier to the enjoyment of their use.

The building up of skills in preparatory class children for communication in literary Bulgarian passes through several stages.

1. Initial stage. At this stage the child listens to Bulgarian expressions and connects them with the corresponding objects, signs, actions, and situations. This is a stage of passive participation in communication. An initial contact is made between an object and its Bulgarian name.

2. Imitational stage. Communication between the teacher and the child is accomplished by the initiative of the teacher, who asks a question and "gives" the answer which the child repeats or imitates.

3. The stage of initial speech reactions. At this stage the child begins to answer questions which demand a yes or no answer.

4. The stage of creative combination of the elements of the learned phrases when participating in communication. At this stage the children are taught to answer questions (to communicate) with complete and incomplete sentences. The incomplete sentences are the natural sentences used in dialogue. At the same time the children must learn to answer with complete sentences, so as to get ready for monologue speech.

Based on my observations and research, I have attempted to systematize some of the basic factors which help children who live in bilingual surroundings and who do not speak Bulgarian to learn literary Bulgarian in the preparatory classes, and have drawn the following conclusions:

1. In preparatory classes Bulgarian should be taught through modeled and minimized speech.

2. Teaching should begin with dialogue speech and in every lesson the teacher should prepare certain phrases which must be learned by the children.

3. The teacher should use visual methods when teaching monologue speech.

Up to now we have looked at one side of the question, preparation for education in the official language of Bulgaria, the Bulgarian language. But in some countries Gypsy children are also taught their mother tongue, the Gypsy language.

From March to May 1991 an experiment was implemented with 50 Gypsy children from the preparatory classes in Sofia, Provadia, and the village of Blaskovo in the Varna district. This experiment aimed at establishing the children's level of knowledge of their mother tongue, the Gypsy language, and their readiness to learn it in school.

The children were given a test containing questions in four main categories:

1. Does the child understand what is said to him? 2. Is the child aware of language units? 3. Can the child retell a text? 4. Preparation for writing. The tests were composed in three dialects, the Sofia dialect, the North-East dialect (for Provadia and Bansko), and the Kalderari dialect. The tests were constructed by the author, who is fluent in all three Gypsy dialects, and who administered the tests to each child individually.

A Test for Establishing the Level of Knowledge of the Mother (Gypsy) Tongue.

Version A. Kalderari Dialect

I. Does the child understand what is said to it?

1. Sar si ko alav?¹
2. Kozome brešengo san?
3. Sar si ke deyako alav?
4. So kerel buki ko dat?

II. Level of awareness of language units.

1. Djanes li gadjikanes?
2. Vaker mange ek gadjikano peras!
3. Puč ke amales mangel li te djan ando foro.
4. Pen mange kančik ke deyatar.

III. Listen to and retell the fairy-tale.

Sas thai sas ek phurano thai ek phurani. Von sas but čore. Ek give o phurano gelo ki len te astarel mačhen. Ki len astardas ek galbenosko mačho.
— Molinav man tuke phureya mug man ando pay. Me ka dav tut tu so manges.

Galisardas la o phurano, thai muklyas la ando pay.


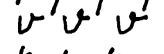


Sikadas o mačho po šoro andaro pay thai phendas:

— Del tut o del sastipe phureya! So manges te dav tut?

— Mangav e phuranyake thai mange ek nevo kher.

Kana gelotar peske o phurano, diklyas ek baro, šukar kher.

IV. Preparation for writing (identical in all versions)

- a. 
- b. 
- c. 
- d. 

Version B. Sofia Dialect

I. Does the child understand what is said to it?

1. Sar si to alav?
2. Sar si te deyakoto alav?
3. Kozome beršengero sinyan?
4. So kerel buti ko dadoro?

II. Level of awareness of language units.

1. Vaker mange yek duma!
2. Vaker i paš duma!
3. Vaker mange vareso te deyake!
4. Puč te amales mangel li de djan ando foro.

III. Listen to the story and retell it.

Sinyas ek phuro, thai ek phuri. On sinyas but čore. Ek dives o phuro gelo ki len te dolel mačšen. Ki len dolgyas ek zlatno mačšo.

— Molinav man tuke phureya, meg man ando pani. Me ka dav tut tu so manges.

Meklyas la o phuro ando pani. O mačšo das les yek kher.

Version C. North-East Dialect

I. Does the child understand what is said to it?

1. Sar sine to anav?
2. Sar sine te deyako anav?
3. Kač yasinda siyan?
4. So hazmetzi kerla to dad?

II. Level of awareness of language units.

1. Vaker mange yek peras!
2. Vaker mange i paš peras!
3. Vaker te diyatar utum ek idos!
4. Puč te amales mangela ma te djan ando zis.

III. Listen to the story and retell it.

Siastem bir vakita ek mami ekta ek papus. Ona siaslem but čore. Ek zis o puro giti te astarel balakoya. An paeste astardas ek altiesko balakos. O balakos vakerdas o papuske:

— Papu, muk man an paeste. Kan dav tuke so mangesa.
Mukas la o papus an paeste. O balakos dias les ek kher.

The experiment showed that:

1. The children understand the test which is in the local dialect. They understand part or nothing of the test in the Kalderari dialect.
2. They understand the questions from the first group.
3. They do not understand the questions from the second group which include abstract knowledge of the language (to name a word, to say a sentence).
4. The children are able to produce connected speech. They can retell the fairy tale in the Gypsy language. Ten children were able to retell the fairy tale in Bulgarian without difficulty after listening to it in the Gypsy language.
5. The children are prepared to learn the written language. They successfully write the elements of the different letters.
6. About ten children from the town of Provadia do not know the Gypsy language at all. They do not understand what is said to them and they cannot retell the fairy tale in the Gypsy language. These children speak and understand only Turkish.

At present a group of pedagogues and linguists are compiling a bilingual Gypsy-Bulgarian primer. An alphabet book for the dialects spoken in Bulgaria has already been created. Work on the manual has started as well. In this respect we take advantage of the experience of other countries—Finland, for example—and Cortiade's primer (Kurtiade 1990). However, the Bulgarian primer will be made to

help the children gain proficiency in the Gypsy language with the aid of Bulgarian and to gain proficiency in Bulgarian with the aid of the Gypsy language.

Notes

¹Translation:

I. 1. What is your name? 2. How old are you? 3. What is your mother's name? 4. What work does your father do?

II. 1. *Version A*. Do you know Bulgarian? (lit. 'non-Gypsy'). *Versions B, C*. Tell me a word! 2. *Version A*. Say a Bulgarian word to me! *Versions B, C*. Tell me a syllable! 3. Ask your comrade if he wants to go to the city. 4. Tell me something about your mother.

III. Once upon a time there were an old woman and an old man. They were very poor. One day the old man went by the river to fish. At the river he caught a golden fish.

Version A:

The fish said, "Please, old man, leave me in the water. I shall give you all you wish.

The old man felt sorry for her and let her go. The fish showed its head above the water and said, "May God give you health, old man! What do you want?"

"I want a new house for me and my old wife."

When he went back home, the old man saw a big beautiful house.

Version B:

"Please, old man, leave me in the water. I shall give you all you wish.

The old man left her in the water. The fish gave him a house.

Version C:

The fish said, "Please, old man, leave me in the water. I shall give you all you wish.

The old man left her in the water. The fish gave him a house.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Word of Mouth

Miklós Fils du Jument: Contes d'un Tzigane Hongrois. János Berki Raconte....
Veronika Görög, collector. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó (ISBN 963-05-5790-8),
and Paris: Editions du C.N.R.S. (ISBN 2-222-04516-9), 1991. 258 pp. (cloth).

Michael Stewart

I have read a reasonable number of Gypsy folk tales and dipped into an even larger number in collections appearing in several languages. Each time, having launched myself in earnest, after a shorter or longer time I find my attention wandering until I have quite forgotten why I am sitting with a book in my hands. For a long time I thought I must be peculiarly tone deaf to the melodies of these tales. Until, that is, I had the pleasure of reading the tales, now published in French, of the Hungarian Gypsy János Berki. These are, admittedly, distinctively "organic" works in the aesthetic sense of being rounded, "well-formed" tales, but more important than that, one has here, thanks no doubt to the ethnographer's rapport with her friend, the tangible experience of being in the audience of a live story-telling. Although in these translations Görög has, regrettably, reduced the oral-poetic repetitiveness and removed some of the coarser elements of her narrator's style, the essentials of Berki's personality and manner are as powerful as ever.

Apart from its aesthetic charm, this publication also has a certain intellectual importance. The new introduction specially written for the French edition manages, while working within a long Hungarian ethnological and scholarly tradition, to break radically new ground as far as Gypsy Studies is concerned. The whole intellectual basis of communist assimilationist policies, which to some extent still shapes the policy of the successor regime. was that no Gypsy culture existed and that

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Gypsies were “merely” Hungarians with a distinct way of life. Ironically the regime found intellectual support in the works of ethnographers such as József Vekerdi and Kamill Erdős. Though no communist themselves, their own intellectual preoccupations ensured a curious affinity with the official communist positions. In her introduction to this volume Görög, herself of Hungarian origin and with long-standing academic connections in Hungary, carefully examines the theoretical and empirical assumptions of the traditional point of view, while remaining within a discourse accessible to fellow Eastern European scholars. Görög achieves this both by showing the self-contradictory nature of the “Gypsies as lumpen” position and by empirically revealing the theoretical benefits of assuming some sort of internal coherence to Gypsy discourse. If as western scholars we feel that, given our clear ideas of a distinct Gypsy culture, these debates barely concern us we would be wrong for two reasons. Firstly our notion of firmly established cultural boundaries (however we dress this up) is as illusory as the idea that Gypsies do not have a culture. Therefore the questions raised in these debates are not just the product of the internal logic of central European academic discourse but are ones we should face up to ourselves. Secondly most of the new work on Gypsies in the forthcoming period is going to emerge from Eastern Europe where for the first time ever research permits are going to be easily available and so an acquaintance with the “state of the art” as practiced along the Danube will be of some advantage to us.

Finally, in the rather narrow scholarly terms to which I have so far restricted this review, this collection represents the output of a so-called Romungro, that is, Rom-Ungro or Hungarian Gypsy. In contrast to the relatively well-studied “Vlach” Gypsies, the population known to the Romany-speaking Vlach community as Romungro, more widely referred to as Carpathian Gypsies (that is, Gypsies whose language was recorded by Archduke József in his dictionary and grammar at the end of the nineteenth century) have had relatively little scholarly attention. Academic publications on them have largely illustrated all the negative consequences of a forced cultural creolization and economic lumpenization. Inside Hungary one could be forgiven for having the impression that only their past distinguished the Romungro Gypsies from their Hungarian neighbors. This volume ought to dispel such illusions once and for all.

Now, at last, to the tales. And a wonderful collection they are. What better recommendation can I make than to say that I have read them night in and night out over the past few days to my five and eight-year old sons who are engrossed both by the fantasy and the style? For the first time, reading folk tales, I have been able to put myself in the “story telling situation” and see the aesthetic logic behind such familiar devices as the formulas which open and close the tales. In the eponymous tale in particular, Berki closes by explaining that he personally knew one of the final

characters of the story, a peasant crook if ever there was one. One has the sense, momentarily, that this already much prolonged story might enter yet another sequence on the back of this new figure. But no. Berki ends, "If the peasant hadn't died, my tale wouldn't have ended!" We, his audience, know he is teasing us, and in a fashion so elegant we share in the play. Rare is it that publications of folklore manage to convey these pleasures normally reserved for those privileged to hear the performance live.

On top of all these riches Veronika Görög has provided us with an interview with her raconteur in which he takes us through his life history. This story, full of telling details, is a remarkable sociological document as well as a moving personal tale, providing, for example, commentary on the role of non-Gypsy godparents and the nature of pre-communist Gypsy employment.

On a more general note it seems to me that one of the ways the study of Gypsies can achieve a wider academic audience is for ourselves to use our material to address issues of concern to the wider community. Since story telling is still a living practice among Gypsies in Eastern Europe at least it ought to be possible to make a study of memory and the transmission of oral information through the study of folk tales which would supplement the work of laboratory based psychologists (following Bartlett's classic study) by revealing some of the cultural constraints on these processes as well as the more formal ones being discovered by cognitive psychologists. This volume and the mass of supplementary tales in Görög's collection might, I fondly imagine, provide a researcher with the inspiration to undertake such a task.

Finally, I ought to warn Romany speakers that there is only a single text reproduced here in Berki's Carpathian dialect. A shame, though I accept the commercial logic behind this. The Hungarian Academy of Sciences is in any case still well stocked with the original publication in Romany and Hungarian with English translations of the Romany, volume 3 in the Hungarian Gypsy Studies series (Görög 1985).

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Oralité Tzigane. *Veronika Görög-Karady and Micheline Lebarbier*, eds. Special issue of *Cahiers du Littérature Orale*, no. 30, 1991. (Publications Langues'O, 2, rue de Lille, 75003 Paris, France.) 266 pp. 101 FF (paper).

Michael Stewart

This special number of a respected journal makes a significant and enjoyable contribution both to the study of Gypsy oral forms of communication and to that of non-Gypsy representations of Gypsies. Well balanced thematically, articles range from the Holocaust through language socialization to Romany literacy. Geographically focused on Eastern Europe but with contributions from Tong on Greece and Douglas on Scotland, and without exception clearly and pleasantly written, this is a volume that all French readers will want to have on their shelves.

The collection is under the direction of Veronika Görög-Karady and Micheline Lebarbier who both provide substantial discussions, the former of non-Gypsy folkloric representations of Gypsies with a wealth of aptly chosen and previously unpublished material both from Hungary and elsewhere, and the latter offering a persuasive study of the relation between an early 19th century Transylvanian (Romanian) poetic masterpiece and comic Romanian folk tales with a Gypsy theme.

But it is the publication of work of several authors living in Eastern Europe which will excite the attention of specialists. Ctibor Nečas and Dusan Holý provide an introductory piece on songs recounting the Holocaust. Katalin Kovalcsik offers perhaps her most charming piece yet, a study of the private songs of her chief informant and *raconteur extraordinaire*, Mihály Rostás. She blends musicological analysis of the two conflicting elements in his style (classical Gypsy and modern urban modes) with a telling account of the background of personal suffering to the songs which he recorded privately for his friend the ethnologist. Kovalcsik explores the reasons for his unwillingness to find a Gypsy audience for these songs (their theme is his illness in hospital) by developing an analysis of the meaning of "true speech" (*čači vorba*). In this inspiring article the reader is privileged to see one more moment in the developing relationship of ethnologist and informant. One can only hope that her collection of Rostás' virtuoso tales will be published in a language more accessible than Hungarian.

The education of children is an old theme in the literature and a serious political problem in present-day Eastern Europe where traditional ideas about Gypsy "intellectual and linguistic poverty" still abound. Zita Réger has directed a program of research over the past ten years to undermine, from a resort of high scholarship, the destructive legacy of the Vekerdi-Varnágy school. In the article

published here she demonstrates the verbal richness and elaboration of Romany spoken to small children, firmly placing the "Gypsy schooling problem" back with the teachers in the classroom rather than in the Gypsy family.

Annamaria Lammel's study of young Hungarian children's discourse on their Gypsy classmates is perhaps the most distressing of the articles, revealing a multi-stranded fabric of oral prejudice. Soberly and sensitively written up, her research will clearly be of continuing importance in this area and indeed more generally on the formation of concepts of human types.

The volume is marred by only two faults. Incomprehensibly, several Romany texts are presented in French translation alone, for example the songs of Kovalcsik and Tong's Greek tales. More perplexing to the reader unfamiliar with Hungarian society will be the inclusion of an article by the eminent historian László Karsai intended to set the record straight on Hungarian involvement in the Nazi Holocaust. While Karsai is undoubtedly correct in his assessment of the pre-1944 position of Gypsies in Hungarian society and also, I suspect, correct in his estimate of numbers killed in 1944-5, he quite outrageously seems to suggest that the Székesfehérvár massacre was the Gypsies' own fault: "the Gypsies were accused...of leading the looting, raping Russian troops to the homes of the wealthy, of acting as informers" (p. 41). It might have been more appropriate for him to provide an account of the scandalous way in which the Székesfehérvár town council tried for a long time to prevent the erection of a memorial to these victims of fascist terror. Finally, as evidence of the relatively limited scale of the Hungarian massacres Karsai asserts that "most of the Hungarian Gypsies living east of the Danube are unaware, even today, that the Gypsies were persecuted in Hungary during World War II" (p. 42). This is the kind of statement that makes the reviewer's temper flare. It is quite simply false—tales of persecution by Nazis and their Hungarian Nyilas collaborators are the stock in trade of Gypsy grandparents' conversation with their juniors. Indeed so widespread is the knowledge of that period that recent skinhead movements have caused widespread (and largely unfounded) panic among Gypsies fearing that fascist-style persecutions might return. It is a shame to see such ill-informed and frankly objectionable assertions in an otherwise outstanding issue of this journal.

Let my anger not cloud the main point, praise for a thought-provoking and spirited collection which provides a fitting celebration of the enormous vivacity and resilience of Gypsy oral culture in Europe.

Contents: Veronika Görög-Karady and Micheline Lebarbier, "Editorial: Oralité Tzigane," pp. 7-13; Ctibor Nečas and Dusan Holý, "A Auschwitz il y a une grande prison," pp. 15-35;

László Karsai, "Hungarian Gypsy Songs about the Holocaust," pp. 37-44; Katalin Kovalcsik, "Chansons tsiganes lentes sur l'expérience personnelle," pp. 45-64; Sheila Douglas, "Conte et traditions chez les 'Travelling People' écossais," pp. 65-78; Diane Tong, "Aspects of Narrative Tradition in a Greek Gypsy Community," pp. 79-89; Milena Hübschmannová, "Birth of Romani Literature in Czechoslovakia," pp. 91-97; Zita Réger, "Socialization des enfants et pratique linguistique," pp. 99-112; Veronika Görög-Karady, "Le folklore du mépris: Le Tsigane dans la pensée populaire européenne," pp. 115-155; Annamaria Lammel, "Parole d'enfants: L'image des Tziganes dans un village hongrois," pp. 157-176; Micheline Lebarbier, "Tsiganiada: Le Tsigane dans l'épopée de Ion Budai-Deleanu et dans les comptes facétieux roumains," pp. 177-201; Georges Drettas, "'Si tu te detournes pour éviter le vent, tu verras, derrière toi, le Tsigane,'" pp. 203-234. The issue includes documents and reviews as well.



The Gypsies of Eastern Europe. *David Crowe and John Kolsti*, eds. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1991. 194 pp. \$35 (cloth).

Otto Ulč

This volume, whose aim is to explore the fate of the "forgotten people," the Gypsies, here called Romani, is based on papers delivered at two conferences in 1988.

In the introductory chapter Ian Hancock points out the racist stereotypes of Gypsies and delves into the history of the Gypsies' first arrival in Europe. While romantic literature idealized the Gypsies, the reality of subsequent centuries treated them very harshly. The macabre zenith was reached in this century during the Nazi domination of a major part of Europe. According to Hancock, Gypsies were the first ethnic group selected by Nazi leadership for genocide. The author calculates that whereas some 6 million Jews, or one third of European Jewry, perished, the percentage of the Gypsy losses was even higher—between 50 and 75 percent. A quarrel over Holocaust statistics entails an element of the macabre. How many millions of corpses do we need to be impressed? In this book three authors offer three different sets of data as to the results of Nazi genocide (pp. 20, 45, 96).

Hancock presents a detailed historical chronology of the predicament of the Gypsy minority (pp. 7-25). His prosecutorial year-by-year catalogue of grievances becomes increasingly detailed and less substantive as to the overall situation of the

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Romani people. For example, the entry for 1988 includes a reference to an unnamed Irish councillor who called for the incineration of Gypsies in a garbage dump. The year 1989 receives the longest entry, on par with the attention previously paid to several centuries combined.

The chapter by Henry R. Huttenbach focuses solely on the Holocaust. The “biologically futureless” Gypsies were gassed in the concentration camps in Germany and Poland, shot by the *Einsatzgruppen* in the Soviet Union, and perished in great numbers as victims of reprisal executions in the Balkans.

In his essay on Albania, John Kolsti points out that a paradoxical situation has developed, namely the relatively better fate of Gypsies in Albania, Bulgaria, and Romania, territories that were under fascist control before the war started, than in the other countries experiencing subsequent occupation by enemy forces.

In the postwar period, the ruling communist regimes denied the Gypsies recognition as a legitimate ethnic group. Instead a policy of assimilation and destruction of the traditional Gypsy lifestyle was followed. According to David Crowe, the government in Hungary came closest to granting this recognition. However, deep prejudice toward the Gypsies prevailed among the population at large.

In the chapter, “The East European Roots of Romani Nationalism,” Ian Hancock presents a detailed historical account of attempts to foster Romani nationalism, partly inspired by the success of Zionism.

In the conclusion, editor Crowe concisely summarizes the findings of the contributing authors. A 20-page bibliography is appended.

Whereas the Holocaust is analyzed at great detail in this volume—a valuable contribution indeed to a topic little known—far less attention is paid to postwar developments, and the momentous political changes in the East European orbit in 1989 have been omitted almost *in toto*. Nothing is mentioned about the end of the policy of imposed assimilation, about the belated recognition of legitimate Romani identity and the opportunity to get politically organized, for example the case of the Romská Občanská Iniciativa in Czechoslovakia. The Eastern European countries are undergoing a radical economic transformation in which the Gypsies at the bottom of the socioeconomic ladder are likely to suffer. The phenomenon of fear has disappeared from these former police states, triggering a substantial increase in criminality, openly racist attitudes, violent clashes, and attempts at migration to Western Europe. Hopefully, these new developments will attract adequate scholarly attention.

The editors acknowledge insufficient coverage of the area: the fate of Gypsies in Poland, Bulgaria, and parts of Yugoslavia was omitted. Among the countries covered, Romania is analyzed with far greater depth and historical

perspective than are Croatia and Serbia, with a chapter covering only World War II.

It is of no particular pleasure to point out the shoddy scholarship of Josef Kalvoda, author of the chapter on Czechoslovakia, who cannibalized the available literature on the subject, for example the work by Davidová (pp. 104-5). He also quotes verbatim from two works of the reviewer (Ulč 1969, 1988) without attribution or even a mention of their existence in his very detailed bibliography.

References cited

- Ulč, Otto. 1969. Communist National Minority Policy: The Case of the Gypsies in Czechoslovakia. *Soviet Studies*, 20(4):421-443.
- . 1988. Gypsies in Czechoslovakia: A Case of Unfinished Integration. *East European Societies and Politics*, 2(2):306-332.

Pavee Pictures. Photos by *Derek Speirs*. Dublin, Ireland: Dublin Travellers Education and Development Group, 1991. 49 pp.; 10 pounds sterling (paper).

David Nemeth

In its rush to press, this first edition of *Pavee Pictures* forgot its subtitle, *A Photographic Essay of Irish Travellers*. Readers will discover why there will be further editions. Its combined images, prose and poetry effectively promote Traveller identity as well as cultural diversity and other objectives of multicultural ideology. "Pavee," according to the publisher's literature (D.T.E.D.G. Euro-Focus, Issue 2, Spring 1991:6), is a Traveller term for themselves, and Pavee Point is their National Traveller Cultural/Heritage Center, a converted Free Church building located along North Great Charles Street in downtown Dublin. Comprised of materials from the Center's widely acclaimed first exhibition, *Pavee Pictures* powerfully portrays the Pavee point-of-view.

The text and photos provide an uncompromising glimpse of a rugged Traveller culture heretofore best fit for living rugged Ireland, century upon century, on its own rugged terms. Yet this book is more about an adaptive crisis in the present. A reader is bound to ask, "How fit is Traveller culture for the future Ireland?" Portraying Ireland as the Travellers now perceive it, mainly through their anecdotes

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and images, is a great way to answer this question, while educating outsiders to a Traveller point-of-view. This latter may help to reduce inter-group prejudices now, which otherwise might lead to eventual conflict, aggression and even genocide.

Pavee Pictures does many things well, both political and aesthetic, but best promotes Traveller cultural identity. Photo images by Derek Speirs are evocative, yet “quietly celebratory” of the Traveller way of life. Text and captions reveal that Speirs’ approach is entirely appropriate to the complexities and contradictions in Traveller culture. The publishers, the Dublin Travellers Education and Development Group (D.T.E.D.G.), are to be congratulated for effectively exposing the needs and problems experienced by Travellers.

Turning pages of *Pavee Pictures* is to join Speir in an unsentimental journey among Travellers, as interpreted by them. Readers visit Travellers in unofficial sites and group housing settlements, along city streets and in country lanes, but nearly everywhere amidst the debris of their fast-changing multicultural landscape. From seashore to rubbish tip Travellers attempt to live productive Travelling lives, meanwhile demanding their rights of equal access to those survival resources and everyday amenities still commonly denied them as proud members of an ethnic minority. They also reveal deep anxieties about their collective destiny, intimating that a desperate battle may be shaping up over political empowerment.

Many of their complaints involve the dole, and how reliance on government welfare funds undermines Traveller mobility, morale and identity. Those older Travellers, mired in dangerous government dependency, iterate on the simple themes of nostalgia for bygone days and uncertainties about the future. Others, and significantly the youthful, are more optimistic: “The best is yet to come!” writes Traveller Chrissie Ward, whose poems accompany many of Speir’s images. It is to the extent that Chrissie’s spirit infects all Travellers that their collective destiny as a culture seems assured. I can recommend *Pavee Pictures* for wide distributions in public libraries, and for promoting and enhancing discussions in multicultural studies courses.

Book Notes

Florilyé dă Primăvară/Tavasi Virágok: Beás Cigány Iskolai Énekeskönyv. *Katalin Kovalcsik*. Budapest: Fii cu Noi Bejás Kulturális Egyesület (Fő u. 40, 7838 Besence, Hungary), 1992. 110 pp. (paper). ISBN 963-04-1711-1.

In *Flowers of Springtime*, a school songbook commissioned by the Fii cu Noi ('Come with Us') Bejás Cultural Organization, Katalin Kovalcsik has succeeded in combining a rigorously scholarly presentation with the practical needs of the Bejás. Kovalcsik and Tibor Derdák open with an introduction to the Bejás, whose ethnic language is Romanian, their language, and the songs. Helpfully, readers are given the addresses of both authors and invited to comment. 51 songs collected from the Hungarian Bejás are presented in a numbered series with musical notation, in a transcription based on Hungarian orthography (pp. 20-73). Translations into Hungarian follow (pp. 74-87), then the details of collection for each song, including notes on how widely each is known (pp. 88-90), and the song texts written in Romanian orthography (pp. 99-108). Two songs from outside the Hungarian Bejás repertoire are presented separately from the numbered series. *Pădure vergyé*, 'Green is the forest,' a composition based on a Bejás folk poem, is presented in an arrangement recorded by the Kályi Jág group. *Kínd luná szá meré lá kulkaré* 'When the moon goes to rest,' a lyrical song originally composed by the Romanian Gypsy professional musician George Sbărcea known in France as Claude Romano (the original copyright date is given as 1937), became widely known with a far different Romani-language text as *Gélem, gélem*; a variant is given here. A portfolio of photographs is included (pp. 91-98).

Folk Music of the Sedentary Gypsies of Czechoslovakia. *Eva Davidová and Jan Žižka*. Budapest: Institute for Musicology of the Hungarian Academy for Sciences (Pf. 28, H-1250 Budapest, Hungary), 1991. Gypsy Folk Music of Europe, vol. 2. 206 pp. (paper). ISBN 963-7074-30-9.

Davidová's very brief introduction to Gypsies in Czechoslovakia and Gypsy folk poetry (pp. 29-33 in the English-language version) is followed by Žižka's musical description of the folk songs of sedentary Gypsies who are not professional musicians (pp. 34-41). The folk classification of slow songs, dance songs, and new songs is followed. The new songs, or *Rom-pop*, which began to appear in the 1960s, combine Romani-language texts inspired by folk poetry, with a variety of styles of pop music. 53 songs are presented with musical notation (pp. 44-165). The texts are

given in the Romani language, with translations into Hungarian, English, and Czech. Collection data are given for each song. All material in the volume is presented in Hungarian, English, and Czech. A portfolio of photos (pp. 167-177) and bibliography are included.

Les Voyageurs d'Auvergne: Nos familles yéniches. *Joseph Valet*. Clermont-Ferrand, the author (2 rue de la Parlette, 63000 Clermont, France), 1990. 100 pp. (paper).

The author tells us that this little book was written in response to requests from the Yennish, a peripatetic group in France, and written—indeed, handwritten—especially for them. Father Joseph Valet's careful cursive is accompanied by sketches by his Yennish collaborators, some original, others based on photographs and paintings. The identification of the author with the Yennish is never in doubt; much of the book uses the third person plural. Valet stresses a Gypsy descent for the Yennish, a position which he indicates is "official," having been accepted by United Nations organizations, and which he supports by citing Hermann Arnold's works (p. 98). Elsewhere he downplays the importance of descent in the identification of Yennish with Gypsies, emphasizing instead "soul" and expertise in peripatetic life skills (p. 2). Having determined to his satisfaction that "we are Gypsies" the author rapidly summarizes Gypsy history in Europe (pp. 3-17), dating the separate identity of Yennish to the beginning of the 18th century. The Yennish are here said to have formerly spoken the Sinti Romani language, but to have replaced it with an argot based on that of non-Gypsy traveling artisans and merchants, which its speakers refer to as *teitch*. The "Waldheimer Lexikon" of 1726, apparently reconstructed from Wolf's *Wörterbuch des Rotwelschen* (1956) is presented with comparisons from Finck's *Lehrbuch des Dialekts der deutschen Zigeuner* (1903) and Lerch's *Das Manische in Giessen* (1976) and suggested etymologies. Thirteen family trees are given (pp. 71-95), based on oral history, civil and parish records; these show little intermarriage with Sinti. Eight recipes from Yennish culinary tradition are given. Eight incidents of Auvergne Yennish history of the 19th and 20th centuries are presented, based on contemporary newspapers and archives and published sources, and one anecdote told at a wake. It is through these that Yennish history comes alive, through them we learn about Yennish economic and social life and about relations, both negative and positive, with government, authority, and other non-travelers.

[SGS]

Correspondence

Food

Readers interested in further North American Rom "culinary delights" (*JGLS* 5, 2: 19-59) may wish to sample the recipes in:

Columbus (Ohio) Dispatch, 24 February 1982.

Philadelphia Inquirer, *Today* section, 5 August 1973.

Salo, Matt T., and Sheila M. G. Salo. 1979. *The Kalderaš in Eastern Canada*. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada.

Matt T. Salo

Series 5

I regret to tell you that your last year's issues of the Gypsy Lore Journal have failed to come up to my expectations—judged by the criteria of the British editions of the late Miss Yates.

Donald H. Janes

Let me compliment you on the Journal. It is looking and reading really well. After poring through lots of really old issues of *JGLS*, I realize what a hard job you have and how well you are editing.

Carol Silverman

Acknowledgment

The editor gratefully acknowledges the following individuals who assisted with manuscript review during the past year.

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Information for Contributors

The *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* welcomes articles in all scholarly disciplines dealing with any aspect of the cultures of groups traditionally known as Gypsies as well as those of other traveler or peripatetic groups. Reviews of books and audiovisual materials, and notes, are also published. The groups covered include, for instance, those referring to themselves as Ludar, Rom, Roma, Romanichels, Romnichels, Sinti, Travelers, or Travellers. Fields covered include anthropology, art, folklore, history, linguistics, literature, political science, sociology, and their various branches. The views expressed in the *Journal* are those of the authors and not necessarily those of the Society or its officers.

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- Mayall, David. 1988. *Gypsy-Travellers in Nineteenth-Century Society*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
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- Rehfishch, Farnham, ed. 1975. *Gypsies, Tinkers and Other Travellers*. New York: Academic Press.
- Salo, Matt T., and Sheila Salo. 1982. Romnichel Economic and Social Organization in Urban New England, 1850-1930. *Urban Anthropology* 11(3-4):273-313.

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